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ART. I.—THE REAL YELLOW PERIL.

1. *The History of China.* By D. C. BOULGER. (London : Thacker & Co., 1898.)
2. *Chinese Characteristics and China in Convulsion.* By Dr. A. H. SMITH. (Edinburgh : Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1900-1901.)
3. *These from the Land of Sinim.* By SIR ROBERT HART, G.C.M.G. Second Edition. (London : Chapman & Hall, 1903.)
4. *The Imperial Drug Trade.* By JOSHUA ROWNTREE. (London : Methuen, 1905.)
5. *The History of the C.M.S.* Chapters xxx. xl ix. lxiv. lxxxi. xcvi. By EUGENE STOCK. (C.M.S., 1899.)
6. *New China and Old.* By A. E. MOULE, Archdeacon in Mid-China. (London : Seeley & Co., 1891.)
7. *Life of Sir Harry Parkes.* By STANLEY LANE POOLE and F. VICTOR DICKINS. (London : Methuen, 1894.)
8. *An Englishman in China ; being (practically) a Life of Sir Rutherford Alcock.* By ALEX. MICHEL. (Edinburgh : Blackwood, 1900.)
9. *Letters and Journals of James, Eighth Earl of Elgin.* (London : Murray, 1872.)
10. *Lord Elgin's Mission to China and Japan.* By LAURENCE OLIPHANT. (Edinburgh : Blackwood, 1862.)

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11. *The Middle Kingdom.* By S. WELLS WILLIAMS. Revised Edition. (London : W. H. Allen, 1883.)
12. *China.* By E. H. PARKER (formerly of H.B.M. Consular Service in China). (London : Murray, 1903.)]

THE writer was once paying an afternoon call, in the days when electric bells were a recent invention, and their mechanism not always so simple as it is to-day. He read the legend round the little knob, and pushed, and waited. The door was opened almost immediately and he was shewn into the drawing-room, where he sat listening to the persistent ringing of the electric bell. He had only pressed the button to gain admittance to the house ; but the bell once started bade fair to drive him out again before his hostess entered the room, explained, and gave orders to rectify the mistake.

Great Britain a century or so ago paid a somewhat similar call on China. She pressed for admission, and was eventually admitted ; but she has not always been at her ease, and at times she almost fears lest the day will come when she may be driven out again by the very force which she employed to effect her entry. She pushed—with men-of-war and regiments armed with guns and bayonets ; and while she is still, in a sense, waiting to open friendly intercourse with her hostess, she has at times an unpleasant suspicion that guns and bayonets, soldiers and armies, and in all probability men-of-war and a powerful navy, will soon be sounding a warning to her to be off and out. This uneasy feeling, which is made articulate now and again in sober speech or widely circulated print, has crystallized into a phrase which has suggested the title of this article, 'The Yellow Peril.'

There are those, not necessarily the wisest among us, who affect to regard the supposed peril as ridiculous. To them the everlasting supremacy of the 'Anglo-Saxon race,' if not of the 'British Empire,' is an axiom requiring no proof, but lending itself to loud and proud assertion. China is a long way off, but peril from China is infinitely further—beyond the bounds of possibility.

Others there are, perhaps wiser students of the world's history, who realize that the proudest nations of the past were like the 'little systems' which 'have their day and cease to be,' that they have ceased at any rate to maintain their position in the front rank of the nations of the world. And, so reflecting, they contemplate uneasily the future of their country, and even of Europe; they watch the travail-pangs of Russia, and wonder if a Russian Empire is about to be born before which not only will the past greatness of the Czar's dominion be as nothing, but the pride of Europe and even the might of Britain may be humbled in the dust. But Russia in Asia lies so near to China that their gloomy forebodings naturally take a yet wider range. They find themselves contemplating the awakening of a nation of four hundred millions of people, of a nation which has shewn the world, so sleepily that many have not even noticed it, yet so consistently that some at least have marked it in every country whither Chinese have come, that nothing can break down its solidarity; that through internal disorders, and rebellions, and civil wars, no less than through a crisis where all the Powers of Europe were supposed to be fighting each for its own hand, China remains China, her people remain one people; and that her latent force if ever it be developed will lose nothing from lack of unity. Face to face with that prospect, these thinkers stand spellbound. The 'Yellow Peril' for them means China roused from the sleep of centuries, reformed, developed, armed; and for them at least this peril has a very serious reality.

In the face of such a peril, what should be the attitude of patriotic Englishmen? The answers to that question are diverse, perhaps many. But it is surely worth considering whether the thinkers whose view is thus set forth have after all succeeded in diagnosing the *real* 'Yellow Peril'; whether in their outlook into the future of the world's history they have not omitted an all-important consideration; and whether it be not more worth while to attempt to grasp this vital point, than to answer a

question based on the assumption that the case has already been considered in all its bearings.

England still claims to be a Christian nation, and even those Englishmen who would not make the same claim for themselves as individuals, are yet among the first to allow what Christianity has done for the welfare of their country. It is a fundamental postulate of Christianity that the 'world as it organizes itself apart from God' is a very evil, and to Christians a very dangerous, thing. Again, it is no less an axiom of Christian faith, that 'God' is 'over all,' and that therefore eventually good will emerge triumphant and evil be overthrown. But, lastly, the Christian recognizes—it is the safeguard of his humility—that the victory will only be won through conflict, that the conflict will be a time of peril, and that for the individual (whether person or nation) the one test will be whether or no he has done his duty.

These three truths of Christianity must be borne in mind in considering a question such as that of the nature of national 'perils,' no less than in trying to determine the best means of meeting them. They are as fundamentally important in national life as they are in personal religion. It is because they have been omitted from consideration that the 'Yellow Peril' as just set forth seems to fail in 'reality,' to misrepresent the actual fact, and to make the peril needlessly inevitable.

The 'real Yellow Peril' is not simply China ; if it were, humanly speaking, it is hard to see that any effectual measures could be taken, by Great Britain or by the world in general, which would ultimately prove successful in averting it. Nothing that the world can do—if history and contemporary world-wide experience are any guide—will keep China always asleep, or get rid of her, or render her powerless through disintegration. There are portions of the globe, such as Greenland for example, which will probably never be anything but dormant ; there are aboriginal tribes in Australia which under the pressure of more strenuous competition seem destined to die out ; there are Empires, such as Austria-Hungary, which seem held together

as by a miracle by the marvellous personality of their ruler ; but China is altogether different. China will wake, will 'find herself,' and will be one—one in sympathy, one in race, and one in her tremendous might—some day ; that is as inevitable as the awakening of Russia ; but the 'real Yellow Peril' is not simply China : it is *heathen China*.

Let us fall back on those Christian truths which have been already stated. 'The world as it organizes itself apart from God'—for example, an awakened powerful and energetic heathen China—is an evil and a very dangerous thing. True, 'God is over all,' and we, who are concerned for the future, remembering this may find rest from our anxieties in our faith. But the test by which as a nation we shall stand or fall—not simply keep or lose our position in this world—that may not after all be the crucial question—but stand or fall at the bar of truth, where nations like individuals will be weighed in the balance of eternal justice—will be whether or no 'we have done our duty.'

To put the matter in a nutshell, the 'real Yellow Peril' is not inevitable, because it is not China but a heathen China ; because the awakening, the development, the mighty power of China need have no terrors for England, if England has done her duty. It may then be worth while to try to suggest in what that duty consists to-day ; and perhaps we shall find a clue to the answer if we begin by considering a parallel case much nearer home.

It has often seemed to the writer that China has been regarded by the nations of Europe, and by Great Britain amongst the rest, very much as the 'British public' is regarded by the adventurers of modern financial syndicates, who lay themselves out to impose upon it for so long as they can do so with impunity. There is a prospectus, worth—to the British public—considerably less than the paper on which it is printed, full of the vast benefits to be derived by the public from the operations of the syndicate. There is, again, a profound ignorance on the part of the public as to the value of the offers made and of the hopes held out by the syndicate in question, an ignorance which it is the part of the prospectus

to overcome, not by imparting knowledge but by inspiring confidence. The results, for the syndicate, are either successful spoliation or more or less disgraceful failure. But—and this is the immediate point to which we must give our attention—*in either case* it is essential that the syndicate should break up, if possible carrying with it the spoils of a successful attempt to rob the public; or, in the alternative event, as the readiest means of avoiding the penalties of failure. For it is well known—and the fact can easily be verified from English history—that the public can almost always be depended upon to allow itself to be fleeced for a time in a certain way, more or less with impunity; but that sooner or later it wakes up, and takes prompt measures with its plunderers. If caught, they are severely dealt with, and the syndicate ceases to exist as a matter of course; and even if they escape, their organization is broken up, their prestige is gone, and in almost every case their ill-gotten wealth melts with the same rapidity with which it was amassed.

Before we leave this illustration, let us for a moment contrast the methods and the results of honest trade. An inventor or a manufacturer puts a good thing upon the market; it is his first object not to deceive but to educate the public; his profits will be measured in degree no less than in permanence by the success of his efforts to convince his customers that they are getting good value for their money, that it will be to their real advantage to buy what he has to sell. Ultimately—as we find by experience every day—it pays him to admit the public to a share in his business, and this co-operation is the greatest security for him as well as for them.

Let us now turn back to the consideration of the dealings of Great Britain with China—we may leave out of account for the time the question of whether our country has dealt better or worse with China than other European nations or the United States of America—and let us see whether spoliation or co-operation has been the keynote of our policy. We shall then be in a position to judge of that policy's probable results and consequently of its effect upon

ourselves hereafter. We need not go back very far to trace the beginnings of our intercourse ; the early years of the nineteenth century will serve our purpose ; and we need not examine the history of the last hundred years in any great detail, for the signs for which we are looking are so clear and abundant as to be unmistakeable.

The first period which comes under our notice is that from 1796, the year of the Emperor of China's strong edict against opium, to 1841, the year of the first China War. What was the relation of Great Britain to China during that period ? The nation was to all intents and purposes represented by the East India Company. That Company had felt bound to cease to appear—technically and directly—as a dealer in what was now a contraband article. Yet it continued to manufacture the article, to sell it by auction in Calcutta in a form specially adapted for Chinese use, to license the ships which were to carry it to China, and—indirectly but none the less persistently—to encourage and foster the illicit trade, because of the enormous profits arising from it, to the Company as well as to the smugglers. What was the result ? What else should it have been save intense dislike, well-grounded suspicion, and, at times, active reprisals ? It is entirely beside the point to urge that the Chinese would not have paid such high prices for the drug if they had not wanted it, or that the local officials at Canton were as a rule themselves privy to the smuggling trade and gainers by it. We are concerned now with the attitude of Great Britain to China, and the effect of that attitude upon China as a whole, and more especially upon the Chinese Government. The attitude was one of spoliation, by means of an illicit trade constantly supported by the armed force of the opium ships ; the result was dislike, suspicion, and hostility.

Let us pass on to the next period, from the first China War to the Treaty of Tientsin, 1841-1858. It has been truly said that the first China War was not waged merely over the opium question, but to secure the very existence of British trade with China. True : but that trade was imperilled, not because of any inherent objection to it,

not because of the natural slowness of a self-contained nation to welcome closer intercourse with foreigners as such, but because of the character which those foreigners, as represented by the merchants, had won for themselves; because of the suspicion and dislike which their opium dealings had drawn down upon all their trade. The war was won of course by Great Britain, and she had to be paid for it by China. Not only were five Treaty ports thrown open to trade—which secured what was nominally the main object of the war—but Hong Kong was successfully demanded as a place whence British trade could be extended, and if need be protected, and a large sum of money was taken as an indemnity.

On the other hand, seeing that China would not agree to legalize a traffic she detested—officially at least, and for that matter in great measure genuinely—nothing was said or done about the opium trade, save that in a supplementary treaty Great Britain agreed to 'discourage smuggling,' a promise she made a virtue of systematically breaking from the moment it was made. Hong Kong became a huge opium depot, and many of the lorchas which ran the opium cargoes over to Canton were licensed to fly the British flag. It was left for one of them, the notorious 'Arrow,' to bring about the second China War.

But meanwhile at least it might be urged that British trade and British intercourse were benefiting China. It was now that for the first time the Imperial Maritime Customs came into being—an organization to which China undoubtedly owes so much and with which the name of its great chief, Sir Robert Hart, will always be honourably associated. Again, British trade, while it meant an opportunity for rapidly amassing immense fortunes to the enterprising foreign merchants, brought no less wealth perhaps to those Chinese immediately connected with them as compradores or the like; it meant the introduction of new and better types of ships, even of steamers eventually, on the coast of China, and of examples of European civilization in the Treaty ports. True again; and true also that now for the first time English missionaries were entering

China, hindered by the evil reputation of their country, but nevertheless conferring great benefits on all who came within their reach. But what, in a word, was the policy of Great Britain during this time? It has been not inaptly named the 'gunboat-policy'; a policy of might enforcing disputed, if often indisputable, right; a policy which at least looked to the Chinese more like spoliation than co-operation; in fact, it was never pretended that Great Britain expected China to realize her own advantages, or to do anything but yield to the demands made upon her by a stronger power.

We pass on to the period inauspiciously inaugurated by the second China War, the 'Arrow' incident, and the Treaty of Tientsin. It is hard to write with anything like judicial calmness of the conduct of the negotiations which led up to the war; it is a pleasanter task to recognize that in the Earl of Elgin Great Britain had an honourable ambassador, if, by the nature of the case, one who could not bring his country out of the negotiations with wholly untarnished fame, since he was bound to insist on the legalization of opium. In the language of Sir R. Alcock, we practically forced the Chinese Government to enter into a treaty to allow its subjects to take (*i.e.* to import) opium. One of the provisions of the Treaty of Tientsin was that it should be subject to revision every ten years; but when on the first of these occasions the Chinese sought to be allowed after all to prohibit the trade, or at the least to raise the import duty fixed by the treaty, Great Britain refused permission, as she has done tacitly or overtly ever since.

Again, it may have been right, it may even have been necessary, to insist on forthwith establishing legations in Peking. We are not prepared for a moment to dispute a fact about which it is impossible for anyone but a statesman to judge, and which seems in itself not unreasonable. But the point which we would urge is that, from the Chinese standpoint, this, and much else of a more distinctly commercial nature, was *extorted* from them as the result of the war. In their view, it was part of a policy of spoliation,

whatever possibilities of co-operation it had in English eyes.

Sir Robert Hart, whom we have already had occasion to mention in connexion with the Chinese Customs, puts the Chinese point of view not a whit too strongly in his little book, *These from the Land of Sinim*, when he writes : 'whether it was that we granted you privileges, or that you exacted concessions, you have treated the slightest mistakes as violation of treaty rights ; and instead of showing yourselves friendly and considerate, you insult us by charges of bad faith, and demand reparation and indemnities.'¹

During the period we are now considering, it was part of the policy of Great Britain to maintain a gradually-increasing naval force in the China seas. We were told once and again that it was needed for international reasons : we saw, for example, in 1876 after the murder of Mr. Margary, and again on other occasions, that it was also found 'useful' in demonstrations intended to overawe the Peking Government. Things came to such a pass eventually that the 'partition of China' amongst the European Powers, and the ear-marking of 'spheres of influence' preparatory to that event, became an acknowledged possibility and unfortunately, in part, an accomplished reality. Great Britain, it is true, was no longer the leader, having yielded that proud position to Russia and Germany. But her acts and policy, at Wei-hai-wei and on the mainland opposite Canton, made her appear as not unwilling to acquiesce in conduct for which 'spoliation' is certainly not too strong a word.

So far we have concerned ourselves more particularly with the effect on the Chinese mind of the policy and actions of the British Government and, in some measure, the opium merchant. But during the period which began after the Treaty of Tientsin, it is no less pertinent to examine a little more closely into the general characteristics of our commercial intercourse with China.

English companies started lines of steamers on the coast, which seriously injured the junk trade and the land routes. The traveller to-day who cares to make his way overland—

¹ p. 119.

not by railway but by road—from Peking to Shanghai, will pass through town after town, village after village, with rows of desolate inns, which once lived and thrived on the road-borne traffic. Or again, the traveller who would explore the Grand Canal, once the most famous waterway of China, will be greatly disappointed at its miserable neglect, at the absence of that great junk trade of which he may have heard or read. We are not complaining of these consequences as though they were unavoidable, or as though the quicker, surer means of transit were not a real boon. But naturally, in the eyes of those immediately concerned, it was only another move in foreign spoliation at the expense of the Chinese ; and the existence of one flourishing line of steamships in Chinese hands did little to weaken the impression.

English firms among others, and for a long period much more than those of any other nation, employed great numbers of Chinese coolies. The members of these firms grew rich and prosperous, and spent money in a way which led the more ignorant Chinese to put their wealth at a far higher estimate than the facts really warranted. The coolies knew, doubtless, that the Chinese compradore was getting rich meanwhile—that the Cantonese clerks were paid what seemed enormous salaries ; but, after all, there could be no comparison between their wealth and that of the foreigner who treated ten cents as if it were a single cash, who opened in one night several bottles of that wonderful drink whose every bottle meant a month's wages ! And the foreigner came and went, made his money and retired, or spent it in the foreign ' stores,' instead of buying land and farming it like a decent person ! Is it unreasonable to suppose that thoughts like these—silly thoughts if you will, but thoughts not altogether without cause—should have occurred to the anaemic crowds who passed day after day in ill-ventilated wool-sorting sheds, or to the sturdier Shantung peasants who toiled by day or by night, in wet weather or in fine, loading and unloading the foreign ' fire wheel boat ' ?

At a place called Tongshan, between Tientsin and Shanhaikwan, there is a colliery, the one large colliery as

yet in good working order in China. How is the labour part of it managed? By Chinese contractors, who also fill the office of village money-lenders—so well known and so notorious a source of evil in our Indian experience. They contract to work a particular part of a seam at a fixed price per truck—a price which they reckon will allow a large margin of profit even after deducting the bribes necessary to obtain the contract—and they press into their service at a miserable wage of some six shillings a month the wretched villagers who are in their debt and in their power. It will be said, doubtless, that this is the fault of the Chinese; but it will hardly be urged that it is more defensible for the shareholders in that colliery so to make their wealth in China than it is for them to allow 'sweating' in industries at home. That, however, is not the immediate point. We refer to the matter simply as one more instance where it is surely natural for the Chinese peasant, exchanging God's air and the husbandry of God's earth for the foulness of a mine-shaft in a colliery in China, to complain to the heaven he leaves above him as he goes down to his toil, of the foreigners who rob him of his just reward in order to enrich themselves.

One more instance must suffice. In the last twenty years railways have developed enormously in China, especially in the North. One of them is really, another of them nominally, an Imperial concern, others of them are more frankly run at present at least for foreign profit. It needed no Boxer destruction to convince those familiar with the Chinese mind that in the minds of the masses they were but one more foreign 'dodge,' and that a peculiarly objectionable one, for putting money into the pocket of the foreigner. It is really no answer to point to the good pay of the railway coolies, to the popularity of railway service, or to the crowded trains of apparently well-contented Chinese passengers. For against them there must be reckoned far greater numbers of stupid illiterate peasants, perhaps, but at the same time of men whose trade has seemed to be injured, of carters or of boatmen or of barrow-men, of those who have lost their land and received but

scanty compensation, if any, and of those whose inviolable graveyards have been desecrated by these 'foreign' iron roads.

Before we leave this subject, let us reiterate once more the purpose of these criticisms. We are not for a moment urging that these marks of civilization are really injuring China. Some of them at least may be very real blessings, and may in the future be even more so than they are to-day. Our point is not their value or their worthlessness; it is the attitude of mind which they engender in the mass of the Chinese—as yet untaught, uneducated, and, if you will, in our European sense, uncivilized—towards the foreigner. It is because we cannot help feeling that they lead the Chinese to accuse the foreigner of 'spoliation,' rather than to credit him with any idea of 'co-operation,' that we have dwelt upon them. As with the policy and actions of the British Government, so with the development of British trade, there have been good things and evil things. But the curse of the evil has hung over the good, and the blind judgement of ignorance or prejudice has served where juster cause for condemnation has been wanting, and either way the verdict has too often gone against the foreigner, that his one motive, his one aim in China has always been the spoliation of the country.

Let us take one parting glance at history, at a critical moment in the relations between China and foreign countries, 1900-1901. The resentment which had been slowly gathering for a century broke out in the 'Boxer' troubles. Where the Chinese knew their weakness, in Southern and Central China, in the province of Shantung, they remained, or were kept by their officials, quiet. But in that home of ignorant mediævalism where the pride of the Tartar conqueror had learnt no lessons of humility because he had never been to school outside the walls of Peking, blind resentment, childish fits of passionate fury found a congenial home. Of course it was soon over, a short-lived tragedy of the nursery rather than the schoolroom type. But how was it treated by the European Powers? Once more we would insist that whatever of a higher standard

England was fain to set—and again and again her representative remonstrated and forbore to follow the example of his colleagues—she was inevitably bound up with them, and she shared the consequences of their action; action which treated China just as the bully treats the small boy, or the drunken soldier treats defenceless women. ‘Robbery with violence’ would not be too harsh a verdict. Punishment had been well merited: it is a wholesome characteristic of a well-ordered nursery; but violence is another thing. And ‘punishment’ costs something to the parent or a nurse who is worthy of the name; but they look to have it made up to them by the smiles of a better child, not by saving money on its food wherewith to mend the broken plate!

But nation after nation misunderstood the matter, and graspingly extorted ‘compensation’ to an utterly unjustifiable amount. America and Great Britain came out with the cleanest record; but the present area of the British Legation in Peking is an abiding mark of our readiness to lay hands on what we wished to have. Nor was the merchant, or even the missionary, behindhand in the effort to seize the golden opportunity. Which of the Chinese officials in Peking to-day remembers that the Church of England Mission accepted no indemnity? how many of the population even know it? And as with that little mission on the smaller, so with Great Britain on the larger scale, what was done by others lent an ugly colour to the perhaps more innocent conduct of ourselves.

Looking back, then, at the past, we are forced to admit that spoliation, and not co-operation, has been the mark by which the Chinese have learnt to know the foreigner through all the century during which they have had reluctant intercourse with him. Let us remember the fate of the predatory syndicate at the hands of the public at home, and beware, while there is time. For there are signs to-day that the China of the last century is at last beginning to arouse herself. That ‘Yellow Peril’ at which we glanced in the early pages of this article may be a real force, if not a real peril, before another century is passed. And then, if we have done nothing to secure ourselves, if we have not

made any effort even now to substitute 'co-operation' for 'spoliation,' if we have not 'tried to do our duty,' our fate is sealed; for the *real* 'Yellow Peril' will be upon us.

Is it too late? and what is our duty, the duty of the patriotic Englishman, the duty of Christian England, to-day?

We do not believe it is too late. China is awakening, but she has not yet found her full strength. There is still time and there is abundant opportunity to prove that, whatever may have been the case in the past, the keynote of our policy henceforward is not 'spoliation' but 'co-operation.' And if we will only 'try to do our duty' we may yet bring the influence of Christianity to bear upon the Chinese nation in such a way that a 'heathen China' will become impossible. Some steps at least on the path of duty lie fairly clear before us, if we care to tread them.

First, then, we must meet the Chinese Government *more than half way* in the matter of the opium trade with India. We must *offer* to rescind the clause of the Treaty which deprives them of the power, which should be theirs by right, to tax opium as they please. And we should set ourselves to deal effectively with the question as it concerns ourselves in India: by the substitution of other crops, by economy in expenditure for a few years, by the stricter and wiser regulation of such opium as is still required for scientific use.

Secondly, we must take such measures as we may to prove our altered attitude, in little things as in big; for they all tell in the result. For example, the Chinese Government have organized, through Sir Robert Hart, with wonderful success already, a postal service for the Empire. Is it impossible for Great Britain to use her influence to abolish the piratical foreign post offices which are now maintained by every foreign Power of any importance, up and down the coast? Or, again, is it impossible for us to cease to foster the doubtful enterprises known as 'Concessions to Syndicates,' of which we have foisted not a few on China? At least, we might watch them as jealously as China does, and insist upon their carrying out their obligations.

Thirdly, China is realizing the imperative necessity of education. Cannot Great Britain help her here, by encouragement, by wise advice, or more directly still through the Chinese who have been educated in her own colonies? These Chinese are British subjects, but they have never lost their real nationality, and with a little encouragement might be really useful in this matter.

Fourthly, there is the question of 'extra-territoriality.' If the time be not yet ripe for removing this grievance, as it has been removed in Japan, we might at least convince China that we shall not be backward when she has done her part to make it possible for us to remove it.

Such steps as these—and they might safely go much further—would be steps in the right direction; but for us who are Christians, the path of duty lies marked with even greater plainness. The 'co-operation' between Christianity and heathendom will always be fraught with danger. The '*real* Yellow Peril,' we repeat, is not China but *heathen* China; and the Church of England, so many of whose members have at one time or another in the last hundred years reaped profit out of Chinese trade, has never adequately faced the problem of Chinese missions. A handful of dioceses, scattered rather promiscuously; vast tracts and provinces untouched by bishops or by clergy; an expenditure of 40,000*l.* a year in South and Mid and West, of less than a tenth of that sum in the great North of China; a want of cohesion between the different dioceses, a want of wisdom in their varying policies, a want of men to staff them properly, or of means to make their work effective; these things call for notice, for prayer, and for amendment. If Christianity is to come to China, if the peril of a '*heathen* China' is to be averted hereafter, it must be through the pervading influence of a Christian *Chinese* Church. The Church of Rome now leads the way in numbers, and it may be in influence; but by its essential constitution it is, and is recognized as, emphatically a foreign Church. The great China Inland Mission and the successful missions of 'all the sects' are doing noble work, much of it with more real success than so far attends the missions of the Church.

But we have it in our power, in conjunction with our American brethren, so to increase our efforts on wiser lines, with larger plans, that through us there may arise that national Church of China which shall be, in God's good providence, the means of averting for ever the 'real Yellow Peril.'

ART. II.—LAY READERS AND THEIR WORK.

1. *Lay Work and the Office of Reader.* By HUYSHE YEATMAN-BIGGS, D.D. [now Bishop of Worcester]. (Longmans, 1904.)
2. *Readers and Sub-Deacons.* Report of the Convocation of Canterbury, 1904. (National Society, No. 383.)
3. *Holy Orders.* By Rev. A. R. WHITHAM. 'Oxford Library of Practical Theology.' (Longmans, 1903.)
4. *Regulations Respecting Readers and other Lay Officers, 1905.* (S.P.C.K.)
5. *Lay Readers' Official Directory, 1906.* By Rev. W. H. HUNT. (Lord & Co.)

ONE of the most interesting chapters to be written in the history of the English Church in the nineteenth century will record the revival of lay work, and the steady increase in the number of channels through which the call comes to every member of the Church to fulfil his vocation and ministry. The inanition of the Church in this country during the eighteenth century had completely deprived the laity of any realization of the fact that they are called upon to take an active personal share in her work. The Strangers' Friendly Society was founded in 1785 'to visit and relieve the destitute sick poor without distinction of sect or country, at their own habitations throughout the metropolis and vicinity, having regard chiefly to strangers not entitled to parochial relief.' But that Society, which is still active, is undenominational. To the Evangelical Revival was really due the awakened recognition of the truth that service is an indispensable attribute of a sound Christian character. The cholera shewed the direction

in which the desire for service might find expression by the visiting of the poor in their own homes. During the latter part of the eighteenth century district visiting societies, said to have been suggested by Henry Venn, were formed under the direction of the parochial clergy. Bishop Sumner, in his Charge of 1833, recommended their introduction 'wherever the population is so large as to be beyond the compass of him whose office it is, in obedience to his solemn vow, "to search for the sick, poor, and impotent people of the parish." ' He was able to record that associations had been formed 'with very beneficial effects to the spiritual and temporal condition of the poor in Camberwell, Clapham, Farnham, Portsmouth, Portsea, Romsey, Southampton and other places in the diocese.'¹ In those early days men sometimes, as well as women, undertook the duties of visitors. The workers were not only concerned with the amelioration of the conditions of life of the people, but also had regard to the moral and spiritual welfare of those with whom they came into contact.² For the directly spiritual work their ranks were reinforced not long after by the Scripture Readers and Bible-women.³

The London City Mission was formed in 1833 to provide lay missionaries, but its workers have often been found in actual, if not avowed, opposition to the Church, and at no time has the organization been considered to be an entirely satisfactory auxiliary to her work. On the other hand, a *Quarterly Reviewer* writing more than fifty years ago was able to claim that

the Scripture Readers' Association is liable to no such objection. It is under the patronage and direction both of Diocesan and Metropolitan. The Scripture readers act under the direc-

¹ *A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Winchester in October 1833, by Chas. Richard Sumner, D.D.* Note L.

² For interesting extracts from the rules of one of the societies and the instructions issued to visitors, reference may be made to an article in *The Guardian* newspaper, January 24, 1906, giving quotations from the MS. Minute-book of the Newington District Visiting Society.

³ The London Bible-women and Nurses Mission was founded in 1857 by Mrs. Ranyard ('L.N.R.'), who described its aims and inception in *The Missing Link*.

tion of the incumbent. They are laymen, duly educated, examined and appointed by the competent authorities to seek out the sick, the needy and the profligate, and to bring religion to the homes and hearts of those who want the power or will to go to church to seek it.¹

The original statement of the Church Pastoral Aid Society was issued in 1836, and expressed the intention to make grants to laymen as assistants in its home missionary work. Some supporters indeed thought that only candidates for Holy Orders should be engaged, but the controversy which arose soon made it clear that several were entirely opposed to any employment of laymen. The result of this difference of opinion was the formation of the Additional Curates Society in 1837 by the objectors, including Bishop Phillipotts of Exeter, and Mr. Gladstone.

The Scripture Readers' Association, which has steadily refused to seek publicity for its admirable work, was founded in 1844. It was the pioneer Church organization of work by laymen, and those who persistently maintain that the Reader movement began in 1866 do a grievous wrong to an excellent society and an energetic body of workers.² Like so many other organizations, it began upon a tentative basis before receiving authoritative recognition. Three years after the constitution of the Association in London, the Bishops, viewing with apprehension the inadequacy of the clergy to cope with the overwhelming population in important centres, sanctioned regulations for the employment of Scripture Readers at a meeting on July 1, 1847.³ Archbishop Longley, then Bishop of Ripon, gave a general outline of the plan in his Charge that year :

'Any incumbent who proposes to employ a Scripture reader will name the candidate for the office to the Bishop, to be

¹ *Quarterly Review*, Sept. 1855. The article gives an interesting description of the social and spiritual condition of the London poor.

² The *Lay Readers' Directory* shews at least two Scripture Readers who have been at work since 1855.

³ Printed as Note II to the *Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Ripon at the Triennial Visitation in September 1847*. (Rivington.)

examined as regards his fitness for the office, either by the Bishop himself, or by someone appointed by him. The candidate must be a communicant in the Church of England of at least two years' standing ; and if, after due inquiry and examination, he be approved, the Bishop will allow him, by a written permission, to enter on his duties as a Scripture reader. Thus officially connected with the Church, it will be his duty to search out the ignorant and the destitute in the district, to read the Holy Scriptures from house to house, and to urge on the people the duty of availing themselves of the privileges which the Church holds out to them. He will point out to all persons the duty of attending its public services ; of bringing their children to baptism, and of sending them afterwards to school, while he directs the parents and the people generally to seek farther instruction and edification from their spiritual pastors.'

If any modern departure in the organization of lay work is entitled to be described as 'one of the landmarks of English Church history'¹ it is the promulgation of the regulations of 1847 and not the rules issued in 1866. In fact, for the full understanding of the latter it is necessary to refer to the earlier document.² The Bishop of Worcester,

¹ Bishop of Salisbury's Presidential Address, Church Congress, 1905.

² Since the Regulations for Scripture Readers made in 1847 are not available in any of the Reports of Convocation or other sources of information, it is thought that it may be useful to append a copy of Note II to Archbishop Longley's Charge when Bishop of Ripon :—

'The following declaration was agreed to at a meeting of the bishops held on the first of July, 1847.

'We, the undersigned, are of opinion that, whenever the Bishop of any diocese shall sanction the employment of Scripture Readers by his Clergy, the following rules are proper to be observed. [Here follow the names of the two Archbishops and twenty-two suffragans.]

'Proposed Regulations for the Employment of Scripture Readers.'

1. The object of appointing Scripture Readers being to give to the Clergy increased means of parochial efficiency, it will be the duty of the Scripture Reader, acting under the direction of the Clergyman, to search out the most destitute and ignorant of the parishioners ; to read the Holy Scriptures from house to house ; and to urge upon the people the duty of availing themselves of all the privileges afforded them by the Church.

2. The Scripture Reader shall in every case be nominated by the Minister of the parish to the Bishop, to be examined as to his fitness for

when writing his book, appears to have been quite unaware of any action taken by the whole episcopal body prior to 1866, and the Report of the Joint Committee makes no mention of it.¹ The Bishop of Salisbury's committee, following the Bishop of Worcester, seemed to think that the Committee of the Lower House in 1859, in recommending a 'new agency,' were proposing an entirely fresh departure.

the office, either by the Bishop himself, or by persons appointed by him for that purpose.

3. On approval, he shall be permitted by the Bishop, in writing under his hand, to enter upon his duties as Scripture Reader.

4. No person shall be appointed to the office of Scripture Reader who has not been a communicant in the Church of England for at least two years past.

5. The Scripture Reader shall be under the control and direction of the Clergyman by whom he is nominated ; who may suspend him from the exercise of his functions, giving one month's notice thereof to the Bishop ; and also, except in case of misconduct, to the Reader himself.

6. No Scripture Reader shall be continued in any parish, or district, against the will of the officiating Minister.

7. The Scripture Reader shall be strictly prohibited from carrying about with him, for the purpose of reading to the people, or of distributing among them, any book, or publication, but the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and the Book of Common Prayer, and such other books as shall be sanctioned in writing by the Incumbent ; taking care to avoid, as much as possible, all controversy.

8. The Scripture Reader shall be strictly forbidden to preach, either in houses or elsewhere.

9. He is to urge upon all persons the duty of attending the public worship of God in the Church ; to inculcate upon parents the duty of bringing their children to Baptism, of training them up in the way they should go, and of procuring for them instruction in the parochial weekday and Sunday schools ; and he is to direct them to seek for further edification and comfort in the ministrations of their appointed pastors.

10. The Scripture Reader shall keep a regular journal of each day's proceedings, noting carefully the parties visited, and the portions of Scripture read to them on each occasion ; such journal to be submitted to the Clergyman at such times as he shall direct, and to be deposited with him at the end of every three months.

11. The names of all Scripture Readers, thus permitted by the Bishop in any diocese, shall be entered in a register to be kept in such a manner as the Bishop shall direct.¹

¹ It should be noted that the Bishop of Salisbury is not responsible for this portion of the Report, as it is conspicuous by its disregard of the salutary rule to verify references.

But the Committee of the Upper House, which reported in 1864 on the recommendations of the Lower House, were not misled by the words. In presenting their Report, Bishop Jackson said that he had been asked what was the difference between the Lay Readers, *i.e.* the 'new agency,' and the Scripture Readers.

'The difference is merely this,' he replied: 'Scripture readers are men who give up their whole time to the work, and are supported by the Church. They receive a stipend as large as the stipends of junior curates. They therefore draw so far upon the funds of the Church. I would not on any account recommend any measure that would interfere with them. It appears to me that, in addition to this, there are many good men who, without requiring remuneration, and without giving up the whole of their time to the work, would yet be willing to give up a portion to it, to be employed in duties similar to those in which our Scripture readers are now engaged.'¹

The object of the proposal was to establish a 'new agency' to which the clergy might commit some of their work by tapping an unused supply of voluntary labour for the Church. The report, as approved by the Upper House, no doubt formed the basis of the resolutions passed by the Bishops on Ascension Day, 1866, which marked the distinction drawn by Bishop Jackson by deciding 'that the office be unpaid.'

By this time the Church had awakened to a sense of its past neglect. Large populations had grown up without any provision for their spiritual needs. Gradually the clergy were realizing their inability under the existing circumstances to approach to the raised ideals of clerical life. Any considerable augmentation of their number seemed to be an impossibility. They sought, therefore, other means of assistance. The needs of the villages had not yet engaged the attention of Church people. There was no widespread dissatisfaction with their condition as there was with that of the towns, and especially of the metropolis.

¹ *Chronicle of Convocation*, April 19, 1864, p. 1452; and see also the remarks to the same effect by several bishops upon the motion for the appointment of the Committee, February 11, 1862.

This lay ministry was needed above all to strengthen and support the work of the town clergy. For more than twenty years the Scripture Readers had been found to be admirable coadjutors to the parochial clergy. It was sought to enlist others who did not feel called to devote their whole time to the work, and who would be ready to give their labours. That they might have some recognition of their services it was decided to allow these unpaid Lay Readers a larger share in the public ministrations of the Church ; but that was to be the least important part of their work. They were before all things to aid the clergy on the pastoral side of their ministry.

For ten years the organization of lay work did not require the attention of Convocation, as the regulations of 1866 provided a basis for action in the dioceses and parishes. In 1876 the subject received mention in a report of the Lower House of Canterbury Convocation upon the deficiency in spiritual ministrations. The distinction was drawn between the requirements of town and country parishes.

'The difficulty of the country parishes is the dispersion of the population, often in outlying hamlets at a distance from the parish church. If a little chapel could be erected in each of these hamlets, and these chapels could be served on Sunday afternoons and evenings by zealous educated laymen, coming with the bishop's authority, under the guidance of the incumbent of the parish, this, with periodical visits from the incumbent for the celebration of the sacraments, and occasional instruction of the people, would make the machinery of our country parishes nearly complete. In town parishes the great want is living agents, who, by the personal influence of their own holiness of life and conversation, may induce the masses to listen to the teaching of religion, and bring them within the reach of the means of grace.'

The changes in thirty years have accentuated these conditions and rendered the situation more anxious for the Church. In the country it is not merely that there are scattered hamlets without place of worship or pastor, but the exodus of the people has left fully constituted

parishes with consecrated churches, which do not provide sufficient work for one parish priest, though in many cases more might be done if the clergyman did not lack resource and initiative. So far as the visiting is concerned, he could often manage two or even three parishes ; but to the union of parishes we should prefer, where it is feasible, that the incumbent should give one or two days a week to visiting in a neighbouring town parish. His expenses might well be a call upon a diocesan fund. Such an arrangement might be worked with excellent benefit to both parishes. Any plan for the union of benefices, and working one or more churches with the aid of a lay worker, either leads to habitual duplication in the administration of the Holy Communion, or deprives the people of their right to a weekly celebration. In the towns the segregation of the population into great masses composed solely of one class has been a marked feature of the period since the committee drew up their report. If the need was great then of people of culture and education, who would go in and out among the crowded workers, with so few elevating influences in their lives, it is considerably greater at the present time. To visit and care for a town population of four or five thousand, and very often more, is an impossible task for a priest to do thoroughly, but it is only too evident from empty churches that he can very often provide all the opportunities for public worship, and in many cases more than the parishioners desire to use.

The lines were and are thus clearly marked out for the development of lay work. By them may be ascertained the correctness of the advance made in the past and the direction to be followed in the future. Urban dioceses have been conspicuous for the number of laymen employed and the latitude allowed to them in public ministrations. But, speaking generally, the great need of the towns has not been met, and no adequate provision has yet been made for the country parishes. The Church has, from time to time, done something to draw attention to the difficulties arising from the segregation of the population. In 1891, for example, the late Archbishop of

Canterbury, in advocating the formation of brotherhoods, said :

' We want a number of men who would do a great deal of voluntary work, living among the people themselves and proving to the people by their constant kindly intercourse the truth of their belief in the gospel they desire to recommend to all men's consciences.' ¹

At present there are not even men to come forward to do the most ordinary serving of tables, which makes no particular demand for capacity or self-sacrifice, though the activity of the Church of England Men's Society and St. Andrew's Brotherhood is promising for the future, if care be taken to maintain a rigid adherence to principles and firm discipline in dealing with mere nominal members. Mr. Whitham by no means overstates the situation when he writes :

' The laity have been content to shift their own responsibility for good works (or think they have done so) upon the long suffering shoulders of the clerical Atlas . . . but the perpetual begging for money, the claims of the "club" or the everlasting "committee" are crushing out the spirituality of many, and rendering it impossible for them to do their own work as it should be done. And of this sort of burden the English laity, if they were a little more in earnest, a little less selfish, might easily relieve them.' ²

So far as the organization of the Reader movement is concerned, the course of events has justified to some extent the fear expressed by Bishop Stubbs in a Charge when the subject was under discussion in 1886 :

' As a rule,' he said, ' men are easy to be found who will take the work of the clergy off their hands, but men who will learn and fulfil the duties of laymen are not so plentiful: you will have preaching laymen and praying laymen and laymen who will undertake, on the least provocation, to baptize infants, to church women, to think themselves debarred from the right if you decline their services at the altar; it is not easy to find

¹ *Chronicle of Convocation*, February 4, 1891, p. 47.

² *Holy Orders*, pp. 178-179.

men who will act as almoners and school visitors, seekers and helpers, judicious and patient, of the sick and afflicted.'¹

There are, of course, many lay readers who do a great deal of quiet and unostentatious work. Unfortunately there also prevails widely the spirit of which Bishop Stubbs noted the signs. The resolutions of 1884 allowed greater liberty in public ministrations, but that was not sufficient. Even the Report of the Joint Committee of the two Convocations in 1905 was met with strong criticism and very little recognition of its excellence as an endorsement of the important position which a lay reader may hold in the Church of England.

Before, however, there can be any satisfactory progress in the organization of lay work, it is desirable that the Bishops should put a stop to existing irregularities. Practically anyone is allowed to read the lessons in church, and the Joint Committee give a tacit approval. Not infrequently the reader's chief object appears to be self-glorification. A sounder conception is needed of the place which the reading of the Scriptures occupies in the services of the Church.

'The actual reading aloud of the Holy Scriptures,' writes Mr. Whitham, 'is a duty committed to the ordained. This is the special function of the deacon; but it is surely desirable that a practice which is the unique glory of the Church of England, the continuous reading of the Scriptures in the language of the people, should be more highly esteemed and better executed by the clergy as a whole; and that the laity should learn to look upon the lessons as the daily sermons of the Church.'² This continual preaching of the Church may indeed at times have a more penetrating power than any sermon.'³

The fact that the practice of indiscriminately allowing anyone to read the lessons is widespread, is not sufficient reason to conclude that it is desirable, and we are not prepared to follow the Joint Committee in approving it. The Archbishop of York never allows any layman to read lessons in church without special sanction from himself by

¹ *Visitation Charges* (edited by E. E. Holmes), pp. 53-4.

² Hooker, *Eccles. Pol.* v. 22.

³ *Holy Orders*, p. 106.

a special form of license. In his diocese there are more than a hundred men who hold such license and bear the name of 'lector.' They need not necessarily have the opportunity or be qualified for the other duties of a lay reader. The Upper House of York Convocation approved their President's practice and added to the resolution of the Joint Committee 'that it is desirable that all laymen who habitually read lessons in the services of the Church should receive the license or permission from the bishop of the diocese.'¹

Preaching in consecrated buildings by laymen without episcopal permission should receive prompt condemnation. While regulations have been issued in accordance with the other proposals of the Joint Committee there does not appear to have been any activity in carrying into effect their recommendation,

that services in unconsecrated buildings should be subject to closer discipline than at present seems to be customary, and that no one should be permitted to conduct them, in buildings belonging to the Church, and used generally to gather congregations of its members, without episcopal license.'

Many of the men who conduct these services would be willing to fall into line and take their places in the regular corps. If some discontinued their work there need be no anxiety. Nothing certainly is ever gained by lowering the standards of requirement in such matters. The fact that the clergy are ready to accept anything, without testing or requiring that it is the best which a man has to offer, may be reckoned among the primary causes of the unsatisfactory attitude of men towards Church work.

With the cessation of irregular lay ministrations, it would be possible to obtain a fuller appreciation of the opportunities open to the authorized worker. In town parishes there is wide scope for men who will undertake the first duties of a parochial reader as set forth in the regulations :

'to visit the sick, to read and pray with them, to take classes in Sunday school and elsewhere; and generally to give such assistance to the incumbent as he may lawfully direct.'

¹ *The Guardian* newspaper, February 22, 1905.

The sacristan or the organist cannot be considered as eligible for the license of a Lay Reader merely on account of the work attached to those offices. Their ministries are of a different order, and nothing is to be gained by a fusion. It is most desirable that the Reader should live in the parish to which he holds a license, unless specially excused by the bishop, in order that he may be constantly passing to and from among the people.

The Parochial Reader may, in unconsecrated buildings used for public worship, 'read such services as may be approved by the bishop, expound the Scriptures and give addresses.' In town parishes, however, it is doubtful whether the frequent use of this permission has been to the advantage of the Church. A distinction may be drawn between unconsecrated buildings which are supplementary to the consecrated parish church, and the mission church, which serves an assigned district and ultimately will be replaced by a permanent building. Generally speaking, the former may be further distinguished from the latter in not being licensed for the administration of sacraments. In theory, the mission hall or parish room is supposed to feed the parish church, but in practice it oftentimes keeps some away from it. It is often difficult to find in what respects it differs from a dissenting meeting-house. Unfortunately, the layman who holds the bishop's license has not *ipso facto* a firm grasp of Church order and discipline. It would be much better that the parochial lay reader should ask those whom he has influenced to come to the parish church for supplementary services. The people would thus at least be familiarized with the building and an opportunity be gained to instil into their minds that it is a home for the *whole* parish, and not merely for one section of the residents. Unfortunately, the new regulations do not appear to contain any provision for the Reader to hold such services, although it may be inferred from the permission to conduct a large portion of the services of the Church.

In consecrated buildings the Parochial Reader is allowed 'to read such portions of the order of Morning or Evening Prayer and Litany as may be specified in his license ; to

read selected and approved homilies or sermons ; to catechize children outside the appointed services of the Church.¹ In town parishes there should rarely be an occasion for the use of this authority by the parochial lay reader. The third section, according to present custom, is an exception, but its removal from the category of activities allowed to the ordinary lay reader would be an advantage. Catechizing, it should be noted, has a clearly defined place in the appointed services of the Church. But if the clergy are determined to delegate their duty of educating the children in the Faith, then the laity should be organized in such a way as to accentuate its importance. A large percentage of those who hold the license of a Parochial Lay Reader are engaged in conducting children's services. The responsibility of guiding, training, and forming the habits of religion of these delicate, tender, young souls is too often assumed with inadequate recognition of its eternal worth. With the breakdown of home influence and the decreased attention paid to the formation of character in the elementary day-schools, the teacher of religion, whether Sunday-school teacher or director of children's services, has to undertake practically the whole burden of informing the children upon the things which concern their everlasting welfare.

' It is the decisive age when impressions are liveliest, when the mind and heart are most accessible to culture, when the tender soul is most easily touched ; above all it is the fertile age when everything develops itself and grows either in vice or virtue, when habits are formed for the whole life. Irreligious in his childhood, alas, the man will almost always continue to be so ; how, later, can he be recovered, when faith has no root in his soul, and when unbelief and the passions have always held it in subjection ? On the other hand, pious in his youth, initiated into the secrets and charms of a Christian life, having known and enjoyed the gift of God, one of two things will follow ; either he will faithfully persevere, or if in the whirligig of life he goes astray, at least he will carry within him the seed of a return.' ¹

The work of the Catechist, therefore, should be given an independent position, and not merely be considered

¹ Dupanloup, *The Ministry of Catechizing*, p. 49.

as subsidiary to the organization of Lay Readers. The Joint Committee, in appointing that the Catechists be selected from the Readers, are following the precedent of the early Church, but some allowance must be made for divergence in circumstances and developments authorized to meet the new conditions. If no departure could be made from primitive practice it would have to be recognized that Catechists taken from the lower orders of the ministry 'were not allowed to instruct their catechumens publicly in the Church, but only in private auditories appointed particularly for that purpose.'¹

If, then, the Church of England really proposes to form a body of Catechists, for whose work there is ample scope, let it not be done as a secondary consideration in dealing with another matter, but in the full realization of the importance of the office. In some dioceses the Catechists would have at their head the 'Children's Canon,' with his stall in the cathedral church. He might suitably be the Chancellor to whom of ancient right belongs the care of educational matters. Next to him would be many of the parochial clergy, who really do endeavour in person to fulfil their obligations to the la mbs of the flock. To them would be added lay catechists recognizing a definite vocation for their work and endeavouring to qualify themselves for it to the best of their ability. Among them would be a certain number of women, principally teachers of different grades, who are engaged regularly in giving religious instruction in accordance with the Faith of the Church.² It would be helpful that the catechists in a parish should organize a guild of sponsors to seek out unbaptized children and act as Godparents.³

¹ Bingham's *Antiquities*, i. 399.

² In this connexion special attention may be drawn to the fact that an attempt is being made to provide systematic courses of theological training with this end in view at the Women's Department of King's College (University of London), which has a considerable number of students reading for the Archbishop's License in Theology.

³ 'In one town where a Sponsors' Guild has been formed, the Godfathers have rented a house and fitted it up as a boys' club for the Godsons, who have in this way been led on continuously to Confirmation

In addition to the Parochial Lay Readers and Catechists, the regulations recognize two other kinds of Readers—Diocesan Readers and Evangelists. Naturally the regulations do not specify such special classes as the Marine Readers in the diocese of London. Diocesan Readers are in a somewhat similar position to the 'clergy with a general license to officiate in the diocese,' and apparently may be unattached to any particular parish. The occasions upon which use may be made of this liberty should be quite exceptional. The Bishop of London requires that

'the reader must in every case be nominated by the incumbent of a particular parish, who desires his services, and except in very special cases, for which special permission must be asked, I shall expect the reader to regularly and definitely exercise his office within that parish.'

It is certainly in accordance with the mind of the Church of England that her ministers should work within a defined area. In addition to the duties of a parochial reader, the Diocesan Reader may 'give addresses in a consecrated building as the bishop of the diocese may lawfully grant, provided that such an address may not be delivered during any of the appointed services of the Church.' In some dioceses, notably London, this is interpreted to include an address after Evening Prayer. The fourth class, designated Evangelists or trained Readers, appears to have been formed to include two excellent bodies of workers differing somewhat in calibre. The Church Army Evangelist going with his van from parish to parish is well known in many parts. It is desirable to have varying types of officers particularly adapted to their special work, but it does not follow that the Church requires to create new offices of a corresponding character. Since Convocation recognized the Evangelist they have been asked to acknowledge the Mission Sister. By the term 'trained Reader' reference is made especially to the men who are sent out from the S.P.C.K. College at Stepney. No account whatever is taken in the Report of the work of the

and Communion.' See the article by the Rev. Lawrence Phillips in *The Guardian* newspaper, December 6, 1905.

Scripture Readers' Association, and it is not unnatural to find that although under episcopal patronage the Scripture Readers have held aloof somewhat from the regular ranks of licensed workers, with the result that they are charged with some lack of loyalty to Church teaching. The position of the Association at the present time is precarious. The funds have been steadily decreasing, and it has been necessary to reduce the already small stipends of the Readers. We are inclined to think that in consultation with the S.P.C.K. it should be possible to devise some plan of amalgamating the work of the Association with the College at Stepney. By some such means there seems the best prospect of furthering their common purpose to provide a lay ministry for the Church.

From the foregoing examination of the regulations it will have been seen that there is no regular method or plan underlying the new arrangements. The Report appears to be a compromise of conflicting ideas, and affords no sure foundation to place the Lay Reader movement in a position to make a sound contribution to the practical working of the Church. After the elimination of the Catechist the remainder of the lay workers suggested by the regulations fall into two main divisions. There is the man who has to earn his daily bread in some secular occupation, and the worker who devotes his whole time to the work and is paid by the Church or, with independent means, finds occupation in this work. The first class would constitute the Parochial Readers, to aid the clergy principally in their pastoral work, with authority to read the lessons and conduct supplementary services in consecrated buildings and, occasionally, to hold services and give addresses in mission rooms, &c. The Diocesan Readers would be selected from those who have no secular occupation. In addition to the privileges of Parochial Readers they would be allowed to officiate in consecrated buildings as specified in their license and preach outside the ordinary services. While the ministrations of the Parochial Reader would be confined to his own parish except upon special occasion, the Diocesan Reader licensed to a particular parish would be at

liberty to go to any parish in the diocese at the request of the incumbent, so that the work of the Church Army Evangelist would be covered by the commission.

With a simplification of the classification of Readers it would be easier to secure more general knowledge of their work among Church people. The new regulations require that the incumbent nominating a layman to the bishop for the office should satisfy him 'that the ministry of such a lay officer is desired by Churchmen in the parish.' It is an excellent provision. For various reasons there is a good deal of politely concealed objection to the licensed lay workers. They are often regarded as self-opinionated, and the whole body suffers in popular estimation from the mannerism of a few such as one who was always known in the parish as 'We clergy' from a characteristic exordium. The Lay Reader, it is said, is only a second-rate makeshift for the assistant curate in default of the incumbent. The clergy, too, have grounds for objection. Over the paid worker they have a hold and can assign to him definite duties. If he fails to carry them out the remedy is in their own hands. But the honorary lay reader is not infrequently a thorn in the flesh. He undertakes duties and at the last moment fails to execute them.

When the incumbent has assured himself generally that the 'Churchmen in the parish' desire the layman whose services he wishes to obtain, the next step is to nominate one to the bishop, with particulars of age, occupation, and a testimonial as to his fitness for the office. The Reader-nominate then undergoes an examination in his knowledge of the Holy Scriptures and the Book of Common Prayer. In recent years something has been done to make this a real test, but it is still too often a very perfunctory affair. But the written examination in book knowledge might be allowed to take a secondary place if careful attention were given to the further regulation that

'the capacity of readers of all classes in their several functions of reading, speaking, teaching, catechizing and preaching should be practically tested by the bishop or some responsible person or persons on his behalf.'

It may be, as the Bishop of London writes, 'that in the case of many excellent parochial readers the standard of learning cannot be very high,' but certainly grave doubt may too often be felt as to whether some would not have fulfilled their vocation better by engaging in another kind of work for the Church. A higher standard is required of the Diocesan Reader. He should at least possess a competent knowledge of Church history, and in the examination some questions might be added on doctrine. A university or other test of higher education might be accepted as a substitute for a course of training, but it is most desirable that some voluntary lay workers, as well as those who are going to be remunerated Church workers, should undergo the course of discipline and instruction at the S.P.C.K. College.

Having satisfied the bishop or his nominee of his fitness for the office, the Lay Reader is admitted at a solemn service, generally in the cathedral church. It is desirable that representatives of the parish to which the Reader is licensed should be encouraged to attend this service. The Lay Reader is a minister, and people should know by what authority he does his work. Sometimes the service of admission might be held in an important parish church, or the Reader might even be admitted in the church of his parish by the bishop. In the presence of the congregation he would then make the declaration of assent to the Thirty-nine Articles, the Book of Common Prayer and the Ordinal, and the promise of obedience to the bishop and incumbent, and

'to endeavour as far as in me lies to promote peace and unity in the parish, and to conduct myself as becomes a worker for Christ, for the good of His Church, and for the spiritual welfare of my fellow-men.'

Convocation did not approve the form of admission 'to the office of a reader in the Church of God,' but required that the admission should be to the office of a Reader in the particular diocese. In practice, however, the bishops are inclined not to re-admit a Reader who has been licensed

in another diocese, but only to give him a new license. Certainly the Reader is not an Order in the Church of God. But the description of the organization of laymen within the diocese as a diocesan 'Order' is better than the word 'association.' An association is merely 'a body of persons who have combined to execute a common purpose or advance a common cause.' They form their own aims and generally make their own rules. But an 'Order' suggests methods and government with a ruling authority. It supports the idea of vocation. The standard of life and conduct is already laid down by the Church. The man who seeks the office of Reader has to test himself whether he can conform to it. The solemn service of admission does not lend itself to the thought that he can relinquish it without serious cause or a call to a higher office.

In connexion with the service of admission may be mentioned a little point which was probably beneath the notice of the Committee, though it has afforded scope for discussion among the lay readers. There is no sumptuary regulation. Many of the dioceses have a badge to be received on admission. It varies in character from the handsome silver pectoral cross, worthy of a bishop, suspended by a broad dark blue ribbon, worn in the dioceses of Southwark and Rochester, to the red silk collar in use in the diocese of Lincoln. Whether either of them was in use in the second year of Edward VI., and so is permissible for ministers who are to be allowed to read the appointed services of the Church, is a point which may be left to be debated one day by a Royal Commission. So far as the ordinary clothes of a lay reader are concerned, his common sense should keep him from wearing soft felt hats and a white tie, on the one hand, and, on the other, a collar fastened at the back with a black silk stock to fill the opening in his waistcoat instead of a tie.

After the admission of the Reader an effort is made to continue his education and to maintain a sense of diocesan unity. In some dioceses his license requires annual renewal, which is a means of assisting to keep vitality in the body. He is expected, and in some dioceses required, to attend conferences once or twice a year. A book is set for him

to study, which may form the subject of debate. It is doubtful to what extent the Readers conscientiously comply with even this small amount of direction. That there are men ready and anxious to fit themselves more thoroughly for their work is shewn by the attendance at the annual Readers' course at one of the Oxford or Cambridge colleges. It is organized each year by the Readers' Board in the diocese of London,¹ and owes much to the interest and wise guidance of Dr. Murray, the Warden of St. Augustine's College, Canterbury. Recently the arrangements have been placed upon a somewhat broader basis, and it may well be a subject for consideration whether the whole burden of the arrangements should fall upon one diocese.

If in matters, such as the reading of an allotted book, which come directly within the cognizance of the authorities, there is a want of readiness to comply with direction, it is not surprising that innumerable inconsistencies and irregularities are also to be found. Some of these may be ascribed to an even excessive anxiety to work for the Church, as, for example, in the case of a bishop's secretary who is a licensed lay reader in one parish and churchwarden in another. Again, in their ministrations lay readers are too often guilty of all kinds of negligences and ignorances. In most dioceses the regulations specify that the place of the Reader's ministrations is at the Reader's desk, or the lectern, but almost invariably it will be found that the lay reader walks into the pulpit quite as a matter of course. By implication the new regulations allow a Diocesan Reader to speak from the pulpit. Such matters may not in themselves be considered of serious import, but they are evidence of an undisciplined attitude of mind among these lay workers. Examples of graver irregularities are by no means uncommon, such as a lay reader reading the Ante-communion Service, accompanied with the use of incense, for a congregation of children in the crypt of a church. We hold most clearly that such a service should not be permitted under any circumstances ; but the diocesan

¹ For an account of the early history of the London Lay Helpers' Association reference may be made to the *C. Q. R.*, July 1883.

authorities were content to argue whether the crypt was consecrated or not, instead of having regard, as advised by the Joint Committee, to the character of the service. It is most desirable that the hands of the parochial clergy should be strengthened by 'visitors.' In most dioceses there is a committee or board who are concerned with the regulation of the lay readers. In this number it should be possible to find men of tact and experience, either laity or clergy, who would visit and take an interest in the parochial work of the lay readers. It would not only be a means for ascertaining such irregularities, but would also afford an opportunity for the lay reader to profit by the experience of others. In some dioceses efforts have been made already to foster the sense of diocesan unity by such means as the lay readers placing themselves at disposal to go to the assistance of the clergy on an emergency in other parts of the diocese. There are also attempts to draw the lay readers together as a body throughout the Anglican Church. An ambitious little magazine exists for this purpose, and by its aid an effort has been made to support a student at St. Augustine's College who shall be their representative in the foreign mission field. The publication of a directory of Lay Readers is also a recognition of them as an organized body. But it is remarkable that its compiler and two editors, besides the majority of the contributors to the *Lay Reader*, are priests. If Lay Readers wanted a directory, they ought to have compiled it for themselves, instead of allowing one of the clergy, whom they are supposed to relieve, to undertake such a piece of drudgery; especially if it be true that his efforts have been rewarded by a large deficit on the publication.

In drawing a distinction between the Parochial and Diocesan Reader it has been pointed out that the former is more needed in the towns. The diocesan reader, with his wider liberties in conducting public ministrations, can find ample scope in country places. But if, as we suggest, he be a man without secular occupation, then why should he not be ordained to Deacon's Orders? Strenuous efforts were made a few years ago both in England and

Canada to urge Convocation to ask permission to ordain men engaged in secular work. It is curious to notice that the petitions from Englishmen and Canadians which supported this change were due in each case almost entirely to the energy and indefatigable propaganda of one layman. But the proposal, although formerly it had the powerful advocacy of Archdeacon Hale, is contrary to the law of the Universal Church, and would have a harmful effect in practical working.¹ There have also been advocates of a sub-diaconate, but the duties associated with that title are quite different from those waiting to be carried out in country churches, nor would any real advantage be obtained. But there is no serious obstacle to the bishop allowing men to take Deacon's Orders after passing an examination on paper of a somewhat lower standard than usual, though with a clear understanding that if they advanced to the Priesthood it would only be by furnishing themselves with the customary qualifications in knowledge. Elementary school teachers and librarians, whose professions do not debar them from taking Orders, might be expected to avail themselves of this provision. The abler men drawn from the humbler walks of life, who are paid by the Church, might be able to fulfil this higher ministry. The Upper House of Canterbury Convocation have already so invited professional men who have retired from active practice and men of independent means, in a resolution passed on February 15, 1884, which is practically unknown :

' This House is of opinion that, in view of the overwhelming need of an increase in the number of the ministry, and the impossibility of providing sufficient endowment for the purpose, it is expedient to ordain to the office of deacon men possessing the means of living, who are willing to aid the clergy gratuitously, provided that they be tried and examined according to the Ordinal, and, in particular, be found to possess a competent knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, of the Book of Common Prayer, and of theology in general; provided also that they be in no case admitted to the priesthood unless they can pass all

¹ The subject was fully discussed in the *C. Q. R.*, January 1888.

the examinations which are required in the case of other candidates for that office, and that they shall have devoted their whole time to spiritual work for not less than four years, unless they are graduates, before they present themselves for these examinations.'

Thus there would be established a permanent diaconate without any artificial procedure, which has failed to attain its object on previous occasions. This would do something to emphasize the fact that the Diaconate is not merely a stepping-stone to the Priesthood. The powers of the deacon would be little greater than those of the lay reader, because the chief distinction, that he is able to assist in the administration of the Holy Communion, would be largely inoperative in the circumstances of his ministry in a country parish. But the advantages, nevertheless, would be important. The call to the ordained ministry is a solemn act, which places the work on a higher plane. In the eyes of the people the lay reader is an amateur in the cure of souls, but to the deacon it has become the serious purpose of life. As an ordained minister he would be subject to ecclesiastical law. A large number of lay readers placed practically in independent spheres, although with subordinate control and in country places away from supervision, would be a cause of unending anxiety. The experiment would probably soon have the same fatal result as its predecessor in the sixteenth century.

In considering the best methods of organizing a lay ministry, no attempt has been made to examine the legal aspects of the question. Our first concern was to set forth the course which promised to give the greatest practical advantage to the work of the Church. Before, for example, we discussed the legality of preaching or reading the services in consecrated buildings, we desired to be convinced of the desirability of allowing this liberty to laymen both for their own sakes and the welfare of those who form their congregations. If the Royal Commissioners on Ecclesiastical Discipline had taken any other than the misguided popular view that the Church consists only of the clergy, they would have given a clear statement of the legal position

of lay ministers. It presents many difficulties, and it appears as if the lawyers who advised the Joint Committee were not in agreement. But one point is noticeable. Whenever the subject has been dealt with by Convocation there has always been doubt as to the legality of the liberty which was being allowed to laymen. On each occasion some point has been conceded which was denied previously on account of doubt as to the law. The departure made by Archbishop Temple, when Bishop of London, in allowing preaching in consecrated buildings was regardless of legal opinion. The Report of the Joint Committee has modified the opinion which permitted the reading of the prayers with more hesitation than preaching by laymen. We are not entirely satisfied, however, that the law permits a layman to be the sole officiant at any of the appointed services, which have to be said in accordance with the statutory obligation to maintain public worship in the churches and chapels of the realm. Those who want the assistance of the laity in country parishes seem only to think of the Sundays. But the daily services should also be read in the church of the parish. There is nothing in the preface to the Prayer Book to justify the assumption that this duty may be undertaken by a layman. It is difficult to argue, therefore, that he may officiate entirely and habitually on Sunday. The Joint Committee think

' that when the ordained minister belonging to a parish is present he should read the service, and not any licensed reader ; and that permission to read can only be given where the proper minister is absent—except it be in the case of necessity, such as the blindness or infirmity of the proper minister.'

To make provision for the absence of the 'proper minister' is one thing, but to arrange for the continual and habitual discharge of his duties is another matter. A layman may even act in case of emergency at a burial or baptism, but no one would wish to argue that a layman should be employed, for example, to read the burial service in the consecrated portion of a cemetery which is served by the incumbent of a parish church, who, equally with the

country parson, may find considerable difficulty in fulfilling his two sets of duties. We do not think that the rubrics of the Prayer Book, or even the Act of 1662, were intended to be interpreted by the strict rules which govern the minds of the lawyers at the present day. The interpretation of the Joint Committee appears to have been strongly influenced by their view, from which we differ, as to the expediency of the change.

With lay readers to break up the fallow ground in the large towns and permanent deacons to minister in the scattered hamlets, the work of the Church should be considerably strengthened and the clergy left with liberty to do their proper work. Even now the time of the clergy would be better occupied in spiritualizing a few workers than in frittering away their energies with trifling effect upon a larger number. In the complex organization of town parishes the work of a lay reader with a definite sphere carefully co-related to the clergy of the parish might be of inestimable value in imparting that discernment of orderly government which should be one of the marks of the Church, and in general opinion does as much to distinguish it from the dissenting bodies as any other characteristic. The effect upon Churchpeople might be even more valuable. Laymen fulfilling a definite vocation and ministry should, by their example, implant in the minds of others that for every member of the Church there is an appointed place, in which he is called upon to make his contribution to the edifying of the Body of Christ.

ART. III.—THE MOZARABIC RITE.

II.—THE MOZARABIC MASS.

1. *Monumenta Ecclesiae Liturgica*. Vol. V. *Le Liber Ordinum en usage dans l'église Wisigothique et Mozarabe d'Espagne du cinquième au onzième siècle*. Publié pour la première fois avec une introduction, des notes, une étude sur neuf calendriers Mozarabes, etc. Par D. MARIUS FÉROTIN, Bénédictin de Farnborough. (Paris, 1904. To be obtained also at St. Michael's Abbey, Farnborough.)
2. *Liturgia Mozarabica secundum regulam Beati Isidori*, in duos tomos divisa, quorum pars prior continet *Missale Mixtum, praefatione, notis, et appendicibus ab ALEXANDRO LESLEO, S. J. sacerdote, ornatum*; posterior *Breviarium Gothicum*, opera FR. ANT. LORENZANA, Toletanae ecclesiae archiepiscopi, recognitum. Nova nunc et accuratiore editione utrumque monumentum reviviscit accurante J. P. MIGNE . . . editore. [Parisiis], 1862.

IN our former article on the Mozarabic *Liber Ordinum* we promised to return to the subject of the Mozarabic Mass, to many of our readers probably the most interesting, as it is undoubtedly the most important service of the rite. The second part of the *Liber Ordinum* consists of a collection of about fifty Votive Masses; and at the head of the collection is given an *Ordo Missae omnimodae*, in which are supplied the invariable parts of the Mass and a (practically complete) set of variable parts belonging to it, so that the whole is thus a kind of equivalent to the 'Ordinary and Canon' of the Roman Mass—or '*Omnium Offerentium*', as the Mozarabic equivalent is called. In this *Missa omnimoda* are preserved several interesting features; but since it is only an edition of the *Omnium Offerentium* adapted for Votive Masses, some of the ancient features of an ordinary Mass of the season or day are omitted or modified, and we shall find that on the whole the most characteristic features of the Mozarabic Mass are better preserved in the two editions of it given in the printed Missal.¹

¹ The Missal gives apparently the witness not of one authority but

It appears to us that the simplest method of exhibiting the original character of the Mozarabic Mass will be to give the complete Mass of one particular day as an example, utilizing both the Mozarabic Missal, the *Liber Ordinum* and also certain very valuable materials gained from the Gallican and Celtic Missals.¹ We must ask the indulgence

of two. For the *Omnium Offerentium* inserted in the Missal before the Mass for Low Sunday is really superfluous. The Mass for Advent Sunday is given entire as a model Mass, much as the Mass for the Annunciation, on December 18, in the Additional MS. 30844 in the British Museum, and the *Ordo Missae omninomiae* of the *Liber Ordinum*; and the other *Omnium Offerentium* is not wanted at all. Again, the latter *Omnium Offerentium* is inconsistent with the Missal in more points than one. It prescribes *Benedicite* for general use at every Mass, whereas in the *Omnium Offerentium* included under Advent Sunday *Benedicite* is not given for general use, but it is prescribed under the First Sunday in Lent for use during that season. The version of the hymn is not the same in the Missal and in the latter *Omnium Offerentium*; the prayers after *Gloria in excelsis* do not agree, and the position of *Adjuvate* is different.

It will be remembered that in the Mozarabic chapel the tradition is kept up to the present time that two books should be used for the Mass, the one for the constant parts, the other for the variables. We would offer the suggestion that the second *O. O.* in the Missal may have been derived from one of the MSS. containing the constant parts; and that the variable parts for St. James' Day may have been inserted in it because in some churches the Mass for St. James' Day was the only Mass which remained in use.

On everything connected with the Mozarabic Mass Lesley's notes (in his edition of the Missal—reprinted in Lorenzana's edition and in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*)—are a mine of learning and (which is more rare) of a singular penetration and judgement. Would that he had completed his design by a parallel edition of the Breviary!

¹ In treating the Mozarabic Mass it is impossible to exclude consideration of the Gallican Mass, for this was but a variant of the same rite; and the same may be said of the (original) Celtic Mass. Indeed, this rite (so far as our information goes) seems to have been originally the rite of the whole of the Latin Church, with the exception of the city of Rome and its immediate environs. Even in Africa, the Lectionary which underlies St. Augustine's sermons is clearly of a Gallican and not of a Roman type: the same may be said of the liturgical fragments preserved in quotations; and the only point in which the African liturgy clearly agreed with the Roman as against the Gallican was the position of the *Pax* after the Consecration.

Mgr. Duchesne, in *Origines du Culte Chrétien*, has attempted to solve the problem as to whence the Gallican liturgy spread into Gaul

of our readers for several details of 'restoration' which we are obliged to insert without note, as we are unwilling to weary the reader by constantly calling attention to trifling details of the kind: those who are familiar with the common texts will easily recognize any divergences from it. In the rendering we have taken a large—perhaps an unwarrantable—licence; the text is in places dubious or crabbed to a degree, and we have preferred to exhibit the prayers in an intelligible form to offering a pedantically exact translation.

The Mozarabic Mass (and we suppose all other liturgies) began originally with the *Lessons*; and on fast days it still does so. By the time of St. Germanus of Paris (†575 A.D.), however, the *Lessons* on Sundays and festivals were preceded by a series of chants, of which those ordinarily in use in Spain were the *Antiphona ad praelegendum* (Introit) and *Gloria in excelsis*, during the former of which the clergy entered the presbytery. At Paris the customary chants were the *Antiphona*, *Trisagion*, threefold *Kyrie eleison* and *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel*. *Gloria in excelsis* (or *Benedictus*)¹ was usually followed by a *Collect*. and Spain, but we venture to think that he has altogether mistaken the nature of the problem. The 'Gallican' rite was the original rite of the West, and its introduction needs no accounting for. If, as he supposes, it was introduced into the West only at the end of the fourth century, the question immediately arises, 'What rite did the Christians use before that date?'—a question without an answer, for it is absurd to suppose that there was any other earlier rite in these parts.

¹ In the Mozarabic Mass for Easter Day, after *Gloria in excelsis* a farced form of the *Trisagion* in Latin is ordered to be said. [The chant *Sanctus Deus archangelorum* mentioned in the second letter of St. Germanus as being used in Lent is probably the same (or a similar) farced Latin *Trisagion*.] On the Sunday before the Nativity of St. John Baptist, *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel* is to be sung after *Gloria in excelsis*. In the *Sacramentarium Bobiense*, *Gloria in excelsis* is given for use, but certain of the succeeding collects presuppose *Benedictus* as the chant originally used—as described in St. Germanus' first letter.

Whence were these chants derived? *Trisagion* is certainly Byzantine, as probably are all forms of the *Agyos* or *Sanctus* except the *Sanctus* in the *Illatio*. The Creed also was introduced in imitation of Byzantine custom. Is it possible that these chants before the *Lessons* were introduced in imitation of the Byzantine three antiphons? In the Roman Mass *Gloria in excelsis* is an incongruous addition. Did the Roman borrow this hymn from the Mozarabic, or *vice versa*?

The Lessons of the Mass may be classified as Sapiential, Historical, Prophetic, Psalm, Acts or Epistle and Gospel. The first two of these (Sapiential and Historical) are used only in Lent and on other fasting days, but the complete scheme carries us back to the days of the early Christian synagogue, when the Lessons from the Law and the Prophets were followed by the Psalm and the Epistle and finally by the Gospel. Some such series of Lessons seems to have been the foundation of all existing Lesson-systems, except possibly in Egypt; and in one liturgy and another we can find traces of the gradual dropping of first the Lesson from the Law and then the Prophecy, until at the present time Lessons from the Law and the Prophets have practically disappeared from ordinary view both in the East and in the West.¹

The Psalm which occurs among the Lessons (normally after the Prophecy) is in all liturgies undoubtedly the oldest of the Mass-chants. The Introit and the Communion-anthem were introduced about the end of the fourth century, whereas the Gradual or its equivalent

¹ The Lessons from the Old Testament have not been eliminated altogether from either the Roman or Byzantine liturgies. In the former, Prophetic Lessons are read on all the weekdays in Lent, when the Epistle is dropped; and also (in addition to an Epistle) on Ember Days and the greater vigils. In the Byzantine rite the Old Testament Lessons are now confined to the *Missae Catechumenorum*, which are incorporated with Sexts and Vespers in Lent. In the *Apostolic Constitutions*, Book II., we find directions for two Lessons from the Historical and Sapiential or Prophetic books of the Old Testament, followed by Psalm, Acts, Pauline Epistle, and Gospel; in Book VIII. we find similar directions for Lessons from the Law, Prophets, Epistles, Acts, and Gospels. In the present Jacobite Syrian liturgy Lessons are read from the Law, Sapiential books, Prophets, Acts or Catholic Epistles, Pauline Epistles, and Gospels. In the Nestorian liturgy we find a very similar system. There are, besides the Psalm, Lessons from the Law, Prophets, Acts, Pauline Epistles, and Gospels; but the Acts is read only during Eastertide and on Saints' days, and in the existing Lectionaries the general tendency towards uniformity has apparently operated to the exclusion of the Lesson from the Law whenever there is a Lesson from the Acts, so that there may be always the same number (four) of Lessons. On feasts of the B. V. M., however, all five Lessons are still retained. (See a complete table of these Lessons at the end of Maclean's *East-Syrian Offices*.) The Ambrosian Lectionary is only a special case of the Gallican.

almost certainly traces its origin to the same source as the Lessons, viz. the synagogue. It is, we believe, always a Respond, *i.e.* a solo with accompanying refrain, and was sung originally in the ambon where the Lessons were read.

In the Mozarabic (and Gallican) Liturgy this Psalm was accompanied by the canticle *Benedicite*—in one or other of its various forms, but its use was by no means constant and appears to have been subject to much variation.¹ After the Gospel came the anthem called *Laudes* (wrongly given as *Lauda* in the printed Missal), the Sermon, and after this the Dismissal of Catechumens and Penitents. The Dismissal of Penitents is retained in the Missal during Lent, the Reconciliation taking place on Good Friday.

We come now to the ‘Missa Fidelium.’ This commences (as Mgr. Duchesne has pointed out) with the *Processio Oblationis*: *i.e.* the elements prepared beforehand were brought in a solemn procession to the altar during the singing of an anthem called in the Mozarabic Liturgy *Sacrificium*. This is followed by the ‘seven prayers,’ as

¹ The use of *Benedicite* was required at all Masses by the XIVth Canon of the Fourth Council of Toledo (A.D. 633), some priests having omitted it on Sundays and Saints' days, although retaining it, apparently, on other occasions. It would seem as if the desire for brevity was too strong to be resisted, so that the canon was very generally disregarded. The *Omnium Offerentium* bound up with the Missal gives a short form of the hymn with no hint that it is ever to be omitted: the complete order of the Mass as given for the First Sunday in Advent does not contain it at all, but another form of it is given in the Mass for the First Sunday in Lent, apparently for use throughout the season, and on Easter Day there is a rubric that the priest may use it if he pleases. (The reference to the *Omnium Offerentium* may very possibly have been added when the *O. O.* was bound up with the Missal.) All these seem to indicate that it had been dropped on ordinary occasions. The omission of the hymn from the *Missa votiva omnimoda* in the *Liber Ordinum* points also in the same direction, and its use in the Gallican rite of Paris and Luxeuil presents a close parallel. St. Germanus describes *Benedicite* as used between the Epistle and Gospel, and, apparently, at all seasons, but in the Luxeuil Lectionary its use is only occasional; for it is there prescribed on Christmas Day *before* the Epistle, and on Low Sunday *after* it. Its use is also alluded to ‘*primo die Sanctae Paschae*,’ which may mean on Easter Day, or might mean on the Easter Vigil, where it would be attached as usual to the lesson from Daniel iii.

they are called by St. Isidore,¹ viz. the *Missa*, *Alia Oratio*, *Post Nomina*, *Oratio ad Pacem*, *Illatio* (which included the *Sanctus*, *Post Sanctus* and words of institution, and passed into the) *Post Pridie* and Lord's Prayer. This series of prayers is not so complicated as would appear at first sight. Just as in the East a common 'devotional form' consisted of the *deacon's* invitation (or *Ectene*), the *people's* response (*Kyrie eleison*) and the *priest's* prayer at the conclusion, so a common 'devotional form' in the West consisted of the *priest's* bidding (*Praefatio*), the *people's* private prayer and the *priest's* concluding collect (*Collectio*). Devotional forms of this kind were inserted in the Gallican services at many points where it would seem natural to us to insert a Collect; e.g. a series of intercessions of this form were inserted between the lessons of the Easter Vigil, and similar devotions were used in the baptismal services. In the Mass, the *Missa* and *Alia Oratio* (called in the Gallican Mass-books *Praefatio* and *Collectio ante nomina*) were one such form, the *people's* private devotion in this case being replaced by a kind of *Ectene* said by the *deacon*; the *Post Nomina*² and *Oratio ad Pacem* formed another similar devotion, although in the actual Mozarabic Liturgy

Is it possible that in this well-known passage relative to the 'Seven prayers' (*De ecclasticis Officiis*, Lib. i. cap. 15) St. Isidore is retailing a description already traditional? In this passage the *Post pridie* is described as the 'conformatio sacramenti' (which is practically equivalent to *transformatio*) 'ut oblatio, quae Deo offertur, sanctificata per Spiritum Sanctum Christi corpori ac sanguini conformetur.' This embodies the 'Eastern' idea of consecration by the prayer of Invocation, and implies a genuine form of the Invocation. Yet, in his Ep. 7, *ad Redemptorem*, § 2, he says 'de substantia sacramenti, sunt verba Dei a sacerdote in sacro prolatâ ministerio scilicet—Hoc est corpus meum.' In the description in question, not only is the *Post pridie* described as a true invocation of the Holy Spirit, but the 'Missa' is still an address, and the 'Illatio' a thanksgiving—the original character of these 'prayers' which disappeared in many of the later Mozarabic Masses. The 'Post nomina,' however, appears to have lost already its original character as an address, and to have been changed into a prayer.

² The *Post nomina* retains its original form as an address in the Mass for Easter Day. In some instances the *Oratio ad Pacem* has a reference to the oblations—e.g. on Ascension Day and St. Eulalia's Day. Similarly in M. Gothicum, *primo die S. Paschae*; M. Gallicanum, *Missa V. de Adventu*; *Sacramentarium Bobiense*, *Missa sacerdotis pro seipso*.

the *Post Nomina* has been generally transformed into a Collect; the introduction and conclusion to the Lord's Prayer formed a third similar devotion—the Lord's Prayer itself supplying the place of a private prayer; and the thanksgiving after Communion consisted also of a *Praefatio* and *Collectio*, although in the Mozarabic rite the *Praefatio* has been generally lost. But it seems practically certain that all these devotional forms grew up around the still earlier framework of the service—the Ectene (= *preces fidelium*¹), *Nomina* (or *Diptychs*), *Pax*, *Illation* (=the Great Thanksgiving), and probably the Lord's Prayer—in much the same way as the variable collects were added to the original framework of the Roman Liturgy.

We shall now proceed to give an example of the Mozarabic Mass, choosing for the purpose the Mass for the Second Sunday after the Octave of the Epiphany, except for the prayer *Post Nomina*, and the *Praefatio* and *Collectio* of the thanksgiving after Communion, which we have taken from *Missa Dominicalis II.* of the *Missale Gothicum* in order to shew the original character of these prayers.

THE ANTHEMS.

Officium [Introit]. The Lord is King and hath put on glorious apparel. Alleluia. *V.* The Lord hath put on his apparel and girded himself with strength. *P.²* Alleluia. *V.* Glory and honour be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost for ever and ever. Amen.³ *P.* Alleluia.

The Priest. For ever and ever. *R.* Amen.⁴

The Choir. Glory be to God on high etc.

¹ St. Germanus places the *Preces* before the Dismissal of the Catechumens, which would seem to carry with it the *Praefatio* and *Collectio*. This can hardly be the original position, and the Dismissal of Catechumens, though probably not of Penitents, had already become a mere form. If the position of the dismissal had been changed in some localities, can this have had any connexion with a grace allowed to certain royal penitents? (See the First Council of Lyons, Canon VI., A.D. 517.)

² 'P' = *Pressa*—i.e. 'Repetitio'; not 'Psalmus' (as Arevalus) nor 'Presbyter' (as Neale).

³ This peculiar form of the *Gloria Patri* is commended as customary and enjoined by the Fourth Council of Toledo (A.D. 633), Canon XV. It is found also in Irish and Ambrosian MSS.

⁴ Apparently the ending of a collect or *apologia* said privately.

Oratio. This is our righteous one in whom we hoped and to whom in grace appearing we are come: wherefore let us beseech his clemency who vouchsafed for us to die upon the cross that he would forgive the sins¹ of his people and deliver us from them. *R. Amen.* Through thy mercy O our God who art blessed and dost live and govern all things for ever and ever. *R. Amen.*¹

THE LESSONS.

V. The Lord be alway with you. *R.* And with thy spirit.

The Reader. The Lesson of the Book of Isaiah the Prophet.

R. Thanks be to God.

The Reader. Thus saith the Lord: Behold I create, etc. (Is. lxv. verses 17-25). *R. Amen.* *V.* The Lord be alway with you. *R.* And with thy spirit.

Tractus. The song of the three children. The angel of the Lord came down into the furnace together with Azarias and his fellows and smote the flame of the fire out of the furnace and made the midst of the furnace as it had been a moist whistling wind so that the fire touched them not at all neither hurt nor troubled them. Then the three as out of one mouth praised, glorified and blessed God in the furnace saying 'Blessed art thou O Lord God of our fathers and to be praised and magnified for ever. Amen. *Hymnus.* Blessed art thou, etc. [a short form of the hymn].

The Priest. O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is good: for his mercy endureth for ever. *R. Amen.*

V. The Lord be alway with you. *R.* And with thy spirit.

Psallendum. My heart is ready O God, my heart is ready: I will sing and give praise with the best member that I have. *V.* Unto thee, O God, will I pay my vows, unto thee will I give thanks. And why? Thou hast delivered my soul from death; mine eyes from tears and my feet from falling. *P.* I will give praise, etc.

The Deacon. Keep silence.

The Reader. Continuation of the Epistle of Paul to the Romans. *R.* Thanks be to God.

The Reader. Brethren, let not sin reign, &c. (cap. vi. 12-18). *R. Amen.*

V. The Lord be alway with you. *R.* And with thy spirit.

The Deacon. Keep silence. The Lesson from the Holy Gospel according to St. Luke. *R.* Glory be to thee, O Lord.

¹ Note the curious use of 'Amen' before the customary conclusion of the Collect as well as after it.

The Deacon. At that time our Lord Jesus Christ returned in the power of the spirit, etc. (Luke iv. 14-22). *R.* Amen.

V. The Lord be alway with you. *R.* And with thy spirit.

Laudes. Alleluia. *V.* Praise the Lord in cymbals and dances : praise him upon the strings and pipe. *P.* Alleluia.

THE SERMON.

DISMISSAL OF CATECHUMENS AND PENITENTS.¹

The Deacon. Pray, ye Catechumens : bow your knees unto God. Let us beseech the Lord that he would vouchsafe to grant you the remission of your sins and enlightenment. [A pause for prayer in which all join.] Arise. Having finished your prayer, in the name of Christ say all together Amen. *R.* Amen.

Depart, ye Catechumens. [The Catechumens go out.]

The Deacon. Pray, ye penitents : bow your knees unto God. Let us beseech the Lord that he would vouchsafe to grant you remission of your sins and peace. [A pause for prayer in which all join.] Arise. Having finished your prayer, in the name of Christ say all together Amen. *R.* Amen.

Deacon. Depart, ye penitents. [The penitents go out.]

The Deacon [to the faithful after the penitents have gone out]. Stand in your places for Mass.

THE OFFERTORY.²

Sacrificium. And Noah builded an altar unto the Lord and took of every clean beast and of every clean fowl and offered burnt offerings on the altar : and the Lord smelled a sweet savour. Alleluia. *V.* And the Lord spake unto Noah saying : Go forth of the ark, thou and all thy kindred and every living thing that is with thee of all flesh, both of fowl and of cattle and of every thing that creepeth upon the earth : be fruitful and multiply upon the earth. And Noah went forth. *P.* And he offered, etc. . . . savour. Alleluia.

[Collection. The oblations are brought in in solemn procession, placed on the altar and censed. The priest washes his hands.]

THE PRAYERS OF THE FAITHFUL.

Missæ. Beloved brethren, since we believe that we are drawing nigh to God let us put away all thought of pleasing men.

¹ The formula of dismissal of Catechumens is conjectural, being based upon that for the dismissal of Penitents in the Missal.

² The private prayers at the Offertory (as all the other private prayers except an *Apologia*) are no part of the original rite and are therefore omitted.

Though we cannot offer to God any sacrifice worthy of his acceptance, let us bring to him at least the sobs and tears of penitence. We ought not to stand here without shame as if innocent of all offences. But at least on the Lord's day we ought to assemble ourselves together with fear as in the presence of the dread Judge of all. Let us not think that our deeds are unknown to God, because we are not punished, since it may be that we are reserved for punishment hereafter as being unworthy of a fatherly chastisement in this present time. Therefore if we are sorry, let the Father's chastisement be sweeter than honey: if watchful servants, let us not eat the bread of the Lord for naught. And thinking of these things as they befit the case of each and all, let us either bewail our own unprofitableness or take anxious warning from the unprofitableness of others, through the grace of God in which we live. *R. Amen.* Through the mercy of the same God who is blessed and doth live and govern all things for ever and ever. *R. Amen.*

The Deacon. Bow your knees unto God.¹

*The Choir.*² Agyos, Agyos, Agyos Lord God eternal king: to Thee be thanks and praise.

The Deacon. Let us keep in mind the Holy Catholic Church: that the Lord would mercifully vouchsafe to increase its gifts of faith, hope and love.³ *R. Grant this Almighty everlasting God.*

The Deacon. Let us keep in mind all the lapsed, the captives, the sick and the strangers (*peregrinos*): that the Lord would mercifully vouchsafe to regard, redeem, heal and strengthen them. *R. Grant this Almighty everlasting God.*

The Deacon. Arise.

Alia Oratio. O God without beginning, who in the beginning didst make the visible world and being thyself unconditioned and everlasting didst lay it on perpetual foundations: with prayers out-poured from our hearts and minds we implore thee to grant us pardon in this present life, and to make us worthy of thy eternal mercies. Mayest thou always find in us some-

¹ 'Oremus' is given in the Missal. 'Flectite genua Deo' is implied in the subsequent 'Erigite vos' which is given in *Liber Ordinum*.

² An imitation of Byzantine custom, not originally part of the Mozarabic rite.

³ This is the old 'prayer of the faithful'—viz. an 'Ectene' cut down to two clauses, the second of which is probably a conflation of several clauses. Even in this short form one of the people's responses has vanished.

thing to pity, so that where thou dost pity thou mayest pardon.
R. Amen.

Through thy mercy, O our God, in whose sight the names of the holy apostles, martyrs, confessors and virgins are recited.
R. Amen.

THE NOMINA OR DIPTYCHS.¹

The Deacon. Our Bishops n. and m, [m. the Roman Pope]² and all other bishops offer the oblation, for themselves and for all the people enrolled in their communion. R. They offer for themselves and for the universal brotherhood.

The Deacon. Also all the priests, deacons, clerks and people standing around offer for themselves and for those belonging to them. R. They offer for themselves and for the universal brotherhood.³

¹ We have here attempted to restore, as nearly as may be, the original form of the Mozarabic diptychs. The form given in the Missal has lost the names of the patriarchs and prophets, as may be seen from some of the *Post nomina* prayers (e.g. for Easter Day), where the classes of saints are alluded to as Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, and Martyrs. The original series is retained in the most interesting set of Irish diptychs that have been transferred to a position in the Canon in the Stowe Missal.

In several Mozarabic prayers we find the names on the diptychs classed as '*Offerentium et pausantium*'.

The Mozarabic liturgy has retained the diptychs in the position which they originally occupied in all the primitive rites—viz. in connexion with the Offertory. This is known to have been the case in the Nestorian rite (*vide* Brightman's *Liturgies E. and W.*, I. p. 275); in the Byzantine rite (*vide* Act V. of the Second Council of Constantinople, A.D. 538), and in the Alexandrian rite (Arabic version of Nicene Canons, No. LXIV., Labbe, *Concilia*, ii. p. 312). The present position of the diptychs in the Roman liturgy, in the middle of the Great Thanksgiving, cannot possibly be original, any more than the same position in the Alexandrian liturgy, although it probably dates back to a high antiquity. (See Dom Cagin's Introduction to the Ambrosian Antiphonal in *Paléographie Musicale*, vol. v.)

² Probably not original, since Spain was outside the ancient patriarchate of Rome. The insertion of the name of the Roman Pontiff in the diptychs was ordered by the second Council of Vaison, Canon IV. (A.D. 529). As this was a Romanizing Council, the insertion was probably an innovation like other things ordered in its canons.

³ Probably the lay people who actually offered were originally mentioned here, with an allusion to the *Liber viventium* and the response: R. "Et omnium offerentium."¹

The Deacon. They offer for¹ the saintly order of the venerable Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles and Martyrs.

Abel	Peter
Seth	Paul
Enoch	[here follow the names of the Apostles]
[here follow the names of the patriarchs and prophets]	Mark
The Maccabean youths	Luke
John the Baptist	Stephen
The Virgin Mary	Cornelius
	Cyprian.

R. And all the martyrs.

The Deacon. Also for the spirits of the waiting ones.

Hilary	Fulgentius
Athanasius	Leander
Martin	Isidore
Ambrose	[names of Archbishops of Toledo and other bishops]
Augustine	Felix

R. And all the waiting ones.

Oratio Post Nomina. Having heard the names recited, beloved brethren, let us beseech the God of mercy and loving-kindness to receive graciously our offered gifts ; to suffer no one of those for whom the sacrifice is broken to be exiled from the privilege of this service ; but to remember both the living and the dead, looking upon both their evil and good deeds, and granting to the one grace and to the other pardon. *R.* Amen. For thou art the life of the living and the rest of all the faithful departed. *R.* Amen.

[*Pause for silent prayer.*]

Oratio ad Pacem. O God the abounding source of all good things and the unfailing concord of the saints : grant such peace

¹ A conjectural restoration in place of 'Commemorating.'

² The names of the '*pausatium*' varied originally with every see, as they contained chiefly the names of its departed occupants and other departed Christians. We have no Spanish diptychs other than those of Toledo, so that we cannot tell exactly how much variation there was in other Spanish sees, but in the Stowe Missal we have a parallel set of the Celtic Church, and at the end of the 'Rule of Aurelian' we have a set of diptychs adapted to fit into the Roman Canon, much as the Celtic diptychs were fitted into the Canon of the Stowe Missal.

on earth that we as peacemakers may always follow and fulfil thy commandments. *R.* Amen. For thou art our true peace and unbroken charity and with the Father and the Holy Spirit livest and reignest one God for ever and ever. *R.* Amen.

THE PAX.

The Priest. The grace of God the Father Almighty, the peace and love of our Lord Jesus Christ and the communication of the Holy Spirit be ever with us all. *R.* And with men of goodwill.

The Deacon. Give the peace to one another as ye stand. [*The kiss of peace is given.*]

The Choir. Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you: not as the world giveth, give I unto you. *V.* A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another. *P.* Peace I leave with you, etc. *V.* Glory and honour, etc. *P.* Peace I leave, etc.

THE ILLATION.¹

The Priest [returning to the altar]. I will go unto the altar of God. *R.* Even unto the God of my joy and gladness.

The Deacon. Lend your ears to the Lord. *R.* We lend them to the Lord.

The Priest. Lift up your hearts. *R.* We lift them up unto the Lord.

The Priest. Let us give meet thanks and praise to our God and Lord, Jesus Christ the Son of God in Heaven.²

R. It is meet and right so to do.

The Priest. It is meet and right, our very blessed and bounden duty that we should at all times render thanks to Thee, O God Almighty; in thy name both celebrating the mysteries of our solemnities and offering to thee this sacrifice (simple to offer, rich to partake) which the highest praises cannot worthily pro-

¹ The word *illatio* is equivalent to the Greek *ἀναφόρα*—*i.e.* the offering. Other terms were used in Gaul: *immolatio* (= offering or sacrifice), and *contestatio*, which is nearly equivalent to *εὐχαριστία*, as meaning the testifying of our thankfulness. We take the Roman term *actio* as signifying *gratiarum actio*. Lesley points out the great antiquity of this Illation, as witnessed by the contrast between the Eucharist and animal sacrifices.

² This cannot be original, as the thanksgiving is addressed to the Father, or to the Holy Trinity, not to our Lord. The original *Deo ac Domino nostro . . . dignasque laudes dignasque gratias referamus* (or a much shorter form) has been interpolated with the words *Jesu Christo, Filio Dei qui est in caelis.*

claim. Here is neither the bleating of sheep nor the bellowing of cattle nor the death-cry of fluttering fowl to grieve the ear. Here the eye is not shocked with blood nor the appetite with surfeit: yet so wonderful and astounding is the victim that though without blood it is eaten alive. For although the true body is eaten and the blood most manifestly drunk yet nevertheless without aught distasteful is the salvation of our souls ministered in the spiritual food and cup. For blessed is thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ who coming in thy name commanded that these sacrifices should be presented before thee. Mindful of his precepts we both keep his commandments and commemorate his mighty deeds, whom with thee and the Holy Spirit the hosts of earth and heaven duly unite to praise, with cherubim and seraphim evermore praising Thee and saying:

The Choir. Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts, heaven and earth are full of the glory of thy Majesty. Hosanna to the Son of David. Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest. Agyos, Agyos, Agyos, Kyrie O Theos.

The Priest. Truly holy, truly blessed is thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord: himself the faith of the patriarchs, the fulfilling of the Law, the burden of the prophets' message, the master of the apostles, the Father of all the faithful: himself the bulwark of the weak, the strength of the infirm, the redemption of captives, the inheritance of them that are redeemed, the health of the living and the life of the dying. Who being himself the true High Priest of God instituted a new law of sacrifice, and commanded us to continue the same offering of himself as a victim well-pleasing unto thee: even Christ our Lord the eternal redeemer, who the day before he suffered, [even in the night in which He was betrayed], took bread and blessed and gave thanks and brake it and gave it to his disciples saying, Take eat, this is my body which is given for you; do this in commemoration of me. *R. Amen.* Likewise also after supper he took the cup and gave thanks and gave it to them saying, This cup is the New Testament in my blood which is poured out for you and for many for the remission of sins: do this as oft as ye drink it in commemoration of me. *R. Amen.* For as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup ye do shew the Lord's death till he come from Heaven in glory. *R. Amen.*

Post pridie. We plead O Lord with humble prayers the death of thy only-begotten Son which is our life, with undoubting faith confessing his resurrection and ascension into heaven; and we await his coming again to judge each one according to his

deserts, trembling for our guilt yet relying on thy mercy. We therefore thy servants beseech thee that thou wouldest sanctify this oblation by the infusion of thy Spirit and fully transform it into the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ : that we may be made meet to be cleansed from the stain of our offences by that victim whose redemption of us we commemorate ; and may not when wounded be denied thy healing power. We are sick, thou art the physician : we are pitiable, thou are pitiful ; therefore by this atoning sacrifice do thou heal us who do not hide from thee our wounds. *R. Amen.*

Grant this, O Father unbegotten, through thine only-begotten Son Our Lord Jesus Christ through whom for us thy unworthy servants thou dost create, hallow, quicken, bless and bestow upon us all these good things that they may be blessed by thee our God for ever and ever. *R. Amen.*

THE BREAKING OF THE BREAD.

V. The Lord be alway with you. *R.* And with thy spirit.

The Priest. The faith which we believe in our hearts, let us confess with our mouths.

The Choir. We believe in one God, &c.

[*During the Creed the bread is broken.¹*]

THE LORD'S PRAYER.²

The Priest. Beloved brethren, mindful of the commandments of the Lord, when about to repeat the words of the Lord's Prayer let us suppliantly beseech his Majesty that he would

¹ On Sundays and festivals the Creed replaces the probably older custom of an anthem called *Confractorium*. Except in Lent and Easter tide is sung : 'Terra dabit fructum suum : benedicat nos Deus, Deus noster, benedicat nos Deus, alleluia,' but a different one is given for the *Missa Votiva omnimoda*.

The manner of breaking the host is very elaborate, and very similar to the old Irish custom. The host was broken into several fragments which were arranged on the corporal in the form of a cross, as directed by the second Council of Tours, Canon III. (A.D. 567), 'ut corpus Domini in altari non in imaginario ordine, sed sub crucis titulo componatur. This practice, however, could not have arisen during the first age, when the faithful generally received at every Mass.

² The Lord's Prayer is said by the priest alone, the people responding 'Amen.' In France the Byzantine custom was adopted early—viz. that the people should say the Lord's Prayer ; but it is practically certain that this was not the original custom anywhere in the West. The intercalation of 'Amen' in the course of a prayer was a common habit in Spain.

mercifully forget our offences and sanctify our hearts and bodies with the gift of his grace : so that purged from every spot of sin, with free voices we may cry from earth :

Our Father which art in Heaven. *R. Amen.*

Hallowed be thy name. *R. Amen.*

Thy kingdom come. *R. Amen.*

Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven. *R. Amen.*

Give us this day our daily bread. *R. For Thou art God.*

And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us. *R. Amen.*

And lead us not into temptation. *R. But deliver us from evil.*

Delivered from evil and strengthened always in good, may we be made meet to serve the Lord our God. Bring to an end O Lord the tale of our sins ; grant joy to the troubled in heart, bestow redemption on the captives, give health to the sick, rest to the dead. Grant us peace and safety all our days, break in pieces the insolence of our foes and hear O Lord the prayers of all faithful Christians thy servants this day and throughout all time.¹ *R. Amen.*

Through Jesus Christ thy Son our Lord who liveth and reigneth with thee in the unity of the Holy Spirit, God for ever and ever. *R. Amen.*

[*A particle of the host is placed in the chalice.²*]

THE BLESSING.

The Deacon. Bow down yourselves for the blessing.³
R. Thanks be to God.

¹ This prayer, often called *Embolismus*, was constant in the Mozarabic rite, although in Gaul it was variable.

² When the priest placed a particle of the host in the chalice he said privately, 'Sancta sanctis et conjunctio corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi sit sumentibus et potantibus nobis ad veniam, et defunctis fidelibus praestetur ad requiem.' It does not appear, however, that this is a survival of an original rite similar to the Oriental *rā dýia rōis dýouis*. The words, no doubt, were adopted from the Byzantine liturgy, like several other similar details, but we do not know of any evidence that it was ever said aloud with a response as in the Greek liturgies, or that it was ever anything more than a private devotion.

³ The deacon's invitation and the subsequent benediction remind us of a very similar feature in the Syrian and Coptic rites (*vide* Brightman's *Liturgies E. and W.*, I., pp. 60, 100, 136, 156, 243, etc.). The Mozarabs were very careless, using sometimes the first person and sometimes the second, and even changing the person in the middle of a benediction.

V. The Lord be alway with you. *R.* And with thy spirit.

The Priest. May ye be filled with the blessing of our Almighty God by whose ineffable power ye were created. *R.* Amen.

May ye be filled with his unfailing grace by whose precious blood ye have been redeemed. *R.* Amen.

And may he grant you a mansion to live in for ever in his eternal kingdom to whom in this world he has afforded the covenant of a new birth. *R.* Amen.

Through the mercy of the same our Lord who doth live and govern all things for ever and ever. *R.* Amen.

THE COMMUNION.

V. The Lord be alway with you. *R.* And with thy spirit.

[*During the priest's communion*]

Ad accedentes. O taste and see how gracious the Lord is. Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia. *V.* I will alway give thanks unto the Lord ; his praise shall ever be in my mouth. Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia. *V.* The Lord delivereth the souls of his servants : and all they that put their trust in him shall not be destitute. Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia. *V.* Glory and honour be to the Father, etc. Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia.¹

The Deacon. Approach according to your places. *R.* Thanks be to God.

[*The Communion is administered in both kinds with the following words*]

The body of Our Lord Jesus Christ be thy salvation. *R.* Amen.

The blood of Christ, which is thy redemption, remain with thee. *R.* Amen.

THE POST-COMMUNION THANKSGIVING.

[*After the communion of the people*]

The Choir. Refreshed with the body and blood of Christ we praise thee O Lord.² Alleluia.

¹ This Communion anthem was always used except in Lent and Eastertide. The same psalm xxxiv. (A. V. xxxiv.), or a part of it, was prescribed for use during Communion in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, Lib. VIII. c. 20, and is mentioned by St. Cyril of Jerusalem and St. Jerome.

² The Mozarabic liturgy possesses only two varieties of this anthem ; the one given is used at all times except Lent, when it is replaced by 'Repletum est gaudio os nostrum : et lingua nostra in exultatione.' In the Stowe Missal and the St. Gall fragment No. 1394 may be seen a

Praefatio. Having received the heavenly sacrament of the body of Christ and being refreshed with the cup of everlasting salvation, let us give thanks and praise to God the Father Almighty. *R. Amen.*¹

Through thy mercy, O our God, who art blessed and dost live and govern all things for ever and ever. *R. Amen.*

The Deacon. Bow your knees to God.

[*Pause for private prayer.*]

The Deacon. Arise.

Collectio. We give thanks unto thee, O God, through whom we have celebrated these holy mysteries; entreating from thee the gifts of mercy and sanctification. *R. Amen.*

Through the mercy of God, who is blessed and doth live and govern all things for ever and ever. *R. Amen.*

V. The Lord be alway with you. *R.* And with thy spirit.

The Deacon. Our solemnities are completed in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. May our devotion be accepted in peace. *R.* Thanks be to God.

The above example will, we hope, give a sufficiently clear idea of the Mozarabic Liturgy. It is more complicated than the Roman, partly by reason of its great wealth of variable parts, and partly because it has preserved several very interesting primitive features which in the Roman rite have been lost or buried in the Canon. The Roman Canon differs from the 'Great Thanksgiving' of all the other ancient rites; its structure is involved, and there is hardly any sequence of ideas; while in the other ancient rites the main lines are clear and simple, and the structure intelligible. Take first the Eastern liturgies. From the opening versicles of the Great Thanksgiving to the Invocation the whole action is one continuous stream of devotion, which is not a prayer but a thanksgiving, passing into prayer (the Invocation) only at the close. In this thanks-collection of chants for the latter part of the Mass which very closely resemble those in the Mozarabic liturgy (*vide* Warren's *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*), and form a complete set for the latter part of the Mass.

¹ The Post-Communion prayers are taken from the *Missale Gothicum*, as they exhibit both *praefatio* and *collectio*. The Mozarabic liturgy has lost the former.

giving there are commemorated in order the creation, the promise of redemption after the fall, the preparation for redemption in the law and the prophets, and at length the Incarnation of the Redeemer, His Life, His Passion (in connexion with which is introduced the historical account of the institution of the Eucharist), His Resurrection, Ascension (in connexion with which occurs the 'great oblation' of the Eucharistic sacrifice), and finally the descent of the Holy Ghost, at which point the thanksgiving passes into a prayer to God to send down the Holy Ghost upon the offered elements that He may make them the Body and Blood of Christ. At some early point of the thanksgiving has been introduced the mention of the Angels, and with it the Angelic hymn 'Holy, Holy, Holy, &c.'

In such a devotional form there is an intelligible arrangement of ideas and a unity of structure curiously lacking in the Roman Preface and Canon, which by contrast appears to be little better than a medley of incongruous elements.¹ The Mozarabic Illations are very various in character, but the oldest of them shew a close resemblance to the Eastern type, and there can be little doubt that the original character of the early illations was very similar—except in such points as the detailed references to the Old Covenant, which may never have been worked out so thoroughly in the Western liturgies. Many of these illations are thanksgivings,² and exhibit distinctly a chronological order of events commemorated: the later Masses depart more and more from the early type in this and other respects. It seems quite possible (especially considering the general Western recklessness of innovation—outside Rome—and carelessness about adherence to traditional forms) that the original type of the Western illations resembled the Eastern type even more closely than is indicated by any extant Masses. And it is by no means

¹ Cf. Dom Cagin's Introduction to the Ambrosian Antiphonal in *Paléographie Musicale*, vol. v. Also Proctor and Frere's *History of the Book of Common Prayer*, pp. 441 sqq.

² Cf. Mone's *Reichenau MS. Fragments*, iii., iv. b, v. a, b.

improbable that the Western novelty of Masses composed to suit special festivals and occasions had a great influence in obliterating the original features of the primitive type of unction.

The prayer of Invocation, in which the Great Thanksgiving culminates, naturally shared in the same process of change. But in the case of the Invocation the deflexion from the original model appears to be due, not merely to accidental or unconscious variation, but to deliberate alteration ; and we believe that a careful comparison of the remaining forms of this prayer will lead to the conviction that the original wording has been altered from a doctrinal motive, and that this alteration has been due to the growth of an idea that the consecration was effected by the words of institution. The growth of such an idea would result naturally in an objection to the use of a prayer after these words in which it was asked that the elements *might become* the Body and Blood of Christ, and so in many of these invocations the wording was softened down, and in others an ambiguous form was substituted, which might be understood either to pray for the sacramental change or to assume that it had already taken place. The question cannot here be discussed at adequate length, but we will adduce a few of the more striking forms. Take first the Mozarabic *Post Pridie* as given in the Missal for the fifth Sunday in Lent :

' Having recited, O Lord, thy only-begotten Son's command to celebrate the Sacraments,¹ and commemorating at the same time his most glorious passion, resurrection and ascension into heaven, we humbly pray and entreat thy Majesty to send down the fulness of thy blessing upon these offerings, and to pour upon them from heaven the gentle rain of thy Holy Spirit ; that this sacrifice may become [a sacrifice after the order of Melchizedech, that it may become a sacrifice after the order of thy Patriarchs and Prophets ; that as thy Majesty did vouchsafe to accept their offerings, which they made in types and figures, foreshadowing the coming of thy only-begotten Son, so

¹ Here 'Sacraments' is used in the early way, *i.e.* the bread and cup are spoken of as *two* Sacraments.

thou wouldest vouchsafe to look upon and hallow this sacrifice, *which is*] the true body and blood of Jesus Christ thy Son our Lord, who for us all was made both Sacrifice and Priest. [Do thou, therefore, hallow this sacrifice, most merciful Father, with the glory of thy countenance, that they who receive it may obtain from thee in this life the pardon of their sins and eternal life in heaven hereafter.]¹

It was perceived by Dr. Neale² that these words '*which is*' cannot be genuine, but that they must have been substituted for some such words as 'that it may become': and it appears highly probable that the whole of the passages which we have enclosed in square brackets are interpolations. Compare the *Post Pridie* above with the following, which is found in the Mozarabic Missal in the Mass for St. Christina (July 24), and (with certain variations, indicated by square brackets) in *Missale Gothicum* (Missa xx., in Cathedra S. Petri).

'Wherefore we observing these commandments, do offer unto thee the most holy gifts of our salvation, beseeching [thee most gracious and Almighty God] that thou wouldest vouchsafe to pour thy Holy Spirit upon these offerings; that it [*sic*] may become unto us the Eucharist of thy institution³ in thine own name and the name of thy Son and Holy Spirit, in the transformation of the body [and blood] of the same Jesus Christ

¹ 'Recitatis Domine Unigeniti tui sacramentorum praeceptis simulque praeclaræ passionis et resurrectionis et in caelum ascensionis memoriam facientes, majestatem tuam supplices rogamus ac petimus, ut in his sacrificiis benedictionum tuarum plenitudo descendat, et infundas in eis imbre Spiritus tui Sancti de caelis: ut fiat hoc sacrificium [secundum ordinem Melchisedech; fiat hoc sacrificium secundum Patriarcharum et Prophetarum tuorum; ut quod ab illis typice facientibus, Unigeniti Filii tui significantibus adventum, tua majestas acceptare dignata est, sic hoc sacrificium respicere et sanctificare digneris: *quod est*] verum corpus et sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christi Filii tui: qui pro nobis omnibus factus est sacerdos et hostia. [Hanc itaque hostiam tu, piissime Pater, de tuae claritatis respectu sanctifica: ut sumentibus eam et hic delictorum veniam, et aeternam in caelis conferas vitam.]

² *Essays in Liturgiology*, 2nd edit. p. 164.

³ This is said to be the meaning of the words 'legitima eucharistia.' No doubt the words 'in the transformation . . . Thy Son our Lord' were added to the prayer as a kind of compensation when the words 'legitima eucharistia' were substituted for 'verum corpus et verus sanguis.'

thy [only-begotten] Son our Lord ; [and may confer] eternal life on all who eat, and an everlasting kingdom on all who drink of the same.' ¹

Comparing this with the preceding form, one can hardly avoid the suggestion that the strange '*legitima eucharistia*' is a vague term deliberately substituted for the original words '*verum corpus et verus sanguis*', and the conjecture reaches (we think) a practical certainty when we find in one Gallican *Post Pridie* (the Caius College fragment) that in this case the innovator had substituted '*legitima eucharistia*' for '*verum corpus*', but had forgotten to delete '*et verus sanguis*'. This prayer (which is for the Mass of the Vigil of Christmas) runs thus :

'O God who hast made this most holy night resplendent with the illumination of the true light through the child-bearing of the blessed Virgin Mary. . . . grant us, we beseech thee, to rejoice in heaven in the joy of him, the mystery of whose light we have known on earth : may a sweet savour ascend to thee from these holy offerings, and a copious blessing descend from thee upon them, that by the mystery of thy operation it [sic] may become unto us the Eucharist of Christ's institution (*legitima eucharistia*) and his true blood : in the name of the Father and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost for ever and ever. Amen.' ²

From a comparison of these Invocations it appears to us quite clear that the original type of Invocation which

¹ 'Haec igitur praecpta servantes sacrosanta munera nostrae salutis offerimus, obsecrantes [te, clementissime omnipotens deus,] ut infundere digneris Spiritum tuum Sanctum super haec solemnia [or praelibamina] ut fiat nobis legitima eucharistia in tuo Filiique tui nomine et spiritus sancti [benedicta] : in transformatione ejusdem corporis [ac sanguinis] domini nostri Iesu Christi [Unigeniti] Filii tui, edentibus nobis vitam aeternam regnumque perpetuum [collatura bibitur]. Te praestante etc.'

² 'Deus, qui hanc sacratissimam noctem per beatae Mariae sacrae Virginis partum sine humana concupiscentia procreatum veri Luminis fecisti illustratione clarescere ; da nobis quaesumus ut cuius lucis mysterium in terra cognovimus ejus quoque gaudii in caelo perfruamur. Ex his quoque sacris libaminibus odor ad te suavitatis ascendat atque in his benedictio a te copiosa descendat ; ut per mysterium tuae operationis fiat nobis *eucharistia legitima et verus sanguis* in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti in saecula saeculorum. Amen.'

underlies them all is a prayer to God to send His Spirit upon the offered gifts ‘*ut fiat [nobis] hoc sacrificium verum corpus et verus sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, &c.*’ The language of the prayer would naturally vary in different Masses, but the crucial words would be common to all. The persistence of ‘*ut fiat*,’ in the remaining forms, even after a plural substantive, seems to point to these words as part of a fixed and common form. It might be questioned, of course, as to whether this was the only original type of Invocation; and to this it must be replied that we have no evidence of any other common type: there are other Invocations of a different character altogether; but these all vary one from another; there is no traditional type of wording to be detected in any of them; some appear to be either mutilated examples of a type originally identical with that of the foregoing examples, or to be isolated forms specially composed with the purpose of employing ambiguous language which might be understood as an Invocation or not according to convenience; and in others the invocatory petition is wrapped up in the convenient obscurity of flowery verbiage.

We will give two examples of these Invocations: the first, an example of an ambiguous wording; the second (which for the sake of clearness, we leave in the original), an example both of ambiguous wording and also of the excision of important words and phrases. The first is found in Mone’s *Reichenau Fragments*, No. III., and also in the Mozarabic Missal for the Sunday before the November fast.

‘Remembering therefore and obeying the precept of thy only-begotten Son, we beseech thee, Almighty Father, to pour thy sanctifying Spirit upon these creatures set forth upon thine altar: that this sacramental bread, being changed into the body [of Christ] and this cup transformed into his blood by the outpouring of thy heavenly and invisible Spirit, they may bring grace to all who offer and healing to all who receive.’¹

¹ ‘Recolentes [*Missale Mozarabicum compleentes*] igitur et servantes praecepta Unigeniti [Filii tui] deprecamur, Omnipotens Pater, ut his creaturis altario tuo superpositis Spiritum [*M.M.* munus sanctificationis

The second example, from *Missale Gothicum, Missa Dominicalis VI.*, is one instance out of many where either the mention of the Holy Spirit or the effect of His Benediction has been cut out, leaving an obviously incomplete and mutilated fragment.

'Explentes sacrosancta caerimoniarum solemnia, ritu Melchisedech summi sacerdotis oblata, precamur mente devota te, Majestas aeterna, ut operante virtute panem mutatum in carne, poculum versum in sanguine, illum sumamus in calice qui de te fluxit in cruce ex latere.'

Here '*Spiritus Sancti*' must evidently be supplied after *virtute*, and (as noticed by Forbes) a clause has dropped out referring to the reception of Christ's Body, parallel to the last clause relating to the reception of the chalice. In *Missa Dominicalis V.* we find a *Post Pridie* originally identical (in the terms of the invocation) with that for the *Cathedra S. Petri*, quoted above, but in this case all the words between '*Spiritum tuum Sanctum*' and '*edentibus*,' have been cut out, and so awkwardly as to leave nothing to agree with '*collatura*'!

What date can be assigned to the growth of this theory that the consecration is effected by the words of institution? The testimony of the liturgies (with the possible exception of the Roman, though even in this liturgy some of the highest authorities recognize an invocation, albeit in different terms) is clear and decisive that the earlier tradition was that consecration was not effected by the words of institution alone, nor until the prayer of invocation which followed them. It would be an interesting problem for a patristic student to trace the origin and development of the later theory; it has never been current outside the West, and even in the West and late into the Middle Ages, it was by no means universally accepted by theological writers.

infundas: ut per transfusionem celestis atque invisibilis [Spiritus tui] sacramenti panis hic [trans-]mutatus in carnem, et calix translatus [M.M. transformatus] in sanguinem sint offerentibus gratia et sumentibus medicina.'

Our space does not allow us here to touch upon the very interesting series of Mozarabic Kalendars which Dom Férotin has collected at the end of the volume. He has performed his task of editing the long lost *Liber Ordinum* which he discovered, and of indexing the whole set of existing Mozarabic books in a scholarly manner which will earn the gratitude of all liturgiologists, and—as we have ventured to hope in writing these articles—of many who, without being experts, take an interest in the subject. As we believe that Dom Férotin is now engaged upon an edition of the *Sacramentary*, we may, perhaps, allow our gratitude to take the familiar form of an expectation of further favours to come, and express our earnest wish that he may be spared to give us a monumental edition of the *Antiphoner* as well.

ART. IV.—SOME MODERN FRENCH LITERATURE.

1. *Le Disciple.* Par PAUL BOURGET, de l'Académie Française. (Paris : A. Lemerre, 1889.)
2. *La Terre qui Meurt.* Par RENÉ BAZIN, de l'Académie Française. (Paris : Calmann-Lévy.)
3. *L'Enfant à la Balustrade.* Par R. BOYLESVE. (Paris : Calmann-Lévy.)
4. *Ramuntcho.* Par PIERRE LOTI, de l'Académie Française. (Paris : Calmann-Lévy, 1897.)
5. *Le Désastre.* Par PAUL et VICTOR MARGUERITTE. (Paris : Plon, Nourrit et Cie, 1897.)
6. *Le Sens de la Vie.* Par ÉDOUARD ROD. (Paris : Perrin et Cie, 1889.)
7. *Études sur la Littérature Française.* III^e Série. Par RENÉ DOUMIC. (Paris : Perrin et Cie, 1899.)
8. *Études de Littérature Contemporaine.* Par G. PELLISSIER. (Paris : Perrin et Cie, 1898.)

9. *Les Contemporains.* III^e et V^e Série. Par JULES LEMAÎTRE, de l'Académie Française. (Paris : Société Française d'Imprimerie et de Librairie, 1888, 1898).

10. *Les Idées Morales du Temps Présent.* Par ÉDOUARD ROD. (Paris : Perrin, 1897.)

[And many other works.]

WE believe that many right-minded people refuse to be interested in current French literature from a fear which, unfortunately, is not always unfounded, that their ideas of right and wrong will be shocked by much which they may there encounter; and others remain ignorant of much which is worthy of note in this literature because there is little in the daily or weekly papers to guide them to what is best in it. A just idea of some few of the French authors who are at this moment most widely read in France might dissipate the first of these fears, and in the pages which follow an endeavour will be made to point out some works which need not be avoided, and are at the same time of considerable literary merit and interest. But while doing this, we feel that it is difficult to sum up the literary attitude or work of any living author, and to say that all he writes will be commendable because what he has already written is so. Montaigne remarked that we can have no certain knowledge, because nothing is immovable, neither things nor intelligences, and the mind and its object are in perpetual motion. Lemaître applies this remark to our taste in literature: we would apply it to the authors of to-day. While we are deducing one attitude of mind from their books, that attitude may have undergone a change before our words are in print. In 1901 a weekly paper of deservedly high reputation was saying that Lemaître's radical scepticism on all philosophical questions gave little hope that he would ever be anything else than an absolute unbeliever; very shortly afterwards, in his *Un Nouvel État d'Esprit*, he or the friend, who, we must imagine, represents himself, is at Mass, and the sixty pages of the charming little brochure may be taken as a defence of Catholicism and pre-revolutionary ideas. Huysman, too, although

just now we hear less of him than we did a few years ago, was, at one time, a perpetual surprise to the literary world to which he finally presented a more astonishing *volte-face* than that of M. Lemaître. And the same might be said from some points of view of M. Brunetière, whose recent death is a loss to the whole republic of letters. Writers who reveal themselves are apt to be phantasmagoria ; all we can do is to gather what we can up to the last published utterance and not prophesy as to the future mental state of living authors.

Perhaps our prejudice (which, however, does not blind us to the serious faults of his work) makes us place M. Paul Bourget, at least in his later manner, at the head of the novelists of to-day. He is perhaps at the present time the most widely read of all French authors, and if all his books could be classed with *Un Divorce* (1904) and his little volume of *Nouvelles, Les Deux Sœurs*, which succeeded it, there would be no discordant note in our praise. The first of these works must have had a profound effect on the minds of M. Bourget's contemporaries. *Les Deux Sœurs*, although slight, is full of pleasant writing, and has all the author's old charm of style ; and both volumes are free from unpleasant incidents. But his books have not always been so ; *Le Disciple*, on which M. Bourget will perhaps rest his fame, is to our minds a profoundly unpleasant book. A philosopher, amiable, guileless in his own life, discards Christianity, and sets forth his teaching in a work of 500 pages which he entitles *La Psychologie de Dieu*—a work which is best described in M. Bourget's own words :

‘La thèse de l'auteur consistait à démontrer la production nécessaire de “l'hypothèse-Dieu” par le fonctionnement de quelques lois psychologiques rattachées elles-mêmes à quelques modifications cérébrales d'un ordre tout physique. . . .’¹

The disciple is a weak undisciplined young man to whom the theory of the philosopher comes as a welcome excuse for throwing off the restraints of religion, who brings shame on a family from whom he has received only kindness, and

¹ *Le Disciple*, p. 14.

who is finally shot by the brother of his victim. M. Bourget has shewn the weakness of mere philosophy to control men's lives, and the philosopher himself may almost seem, when in the last pages he sees the agony of the mother over the body of her dead son, to doubt its efficacy or its value.

' . . . For the first time, finding his thought powerless to sustain him . . . he humiliated himself, he bent, he sank, before the impenetrable mystery of destiny. The words of the only prayer which he recalled from his far-away childhood : "Our Father which art in Heaven . . ." came to his heart. Truly he did not pronounce the words. Perhaps he would never pronounce them. But if He existed, this Heavenly Father towards whom small and great turn themselves in hours of agony as towards the only resource, is not this need of prayer the most touching of prayers ? And if this Heavenly Father did not exist, should we experience this hunger and thirst for Him in such hours as this ? . . . " You would not seek Me if you had not found Me ! " At that moment even, and thanks to the clearness of thought which belongs to *savants* in all crises, Adrian Sixte recalled this admirable phrase of Pascal in his *Mystère de Jésus*—and when the mother rose from her knees, she could see that he was weeping ! ' ¹

The 'disciple' wearies us with dreary pages of egoism : there are episodes which do nothing to help forward the movement of the story and which if only hinted at would have brought the work of ruin which the author desired to portray as completely and more artistically before the reader without shocking his better sense. And it is this which turns what might have been a grand lesson, a sermon, as *King Lear* or *Macbeth* are sermons, into a work of a very different kind : a work which seems even to have troubled its author and to have led him to write a preface which might almost be called an apology. ' Let neither the pride of life nor the pride of the intelligence make you a cynic or a juggler with ideas ! In this time of troubled consciences and contradictory doctrines, attach yourself, as to the tree of salvation, to this word of Christ, " The tree is known by its fruits." ' ² Those words are assuredly the moral of the book, but ' the moral value of a work depends not so much on the

¹ *Le Disciple*, p. 359.

² *Ibid.* preface, p. x.

precepts which are therein formulated as on the picture of life which it contains.'¹

And with such a work as *Le Disciple* before us we may well ask ourselves what is the moral value of M. Bourget's work—putting, however, *Un Divorce* on one side, for of the value of that we have no doubt.

'M. Paul Bourget,' writes M. Georges Pellissier,² 'est un romancier mondain, un romancier psychologique et un romancier moraliste.' That he is 'romancier mondain' is written large over his works, that he loves to dwell on the psychological aspect of things is also obvious; but is he a moral teacher? The answer, we believe, will be that he has failed in this direction and is himself apparently conscious of it, as when he wrote the preface to the *Disciple*.

It is possible so to describe vice as to make it hateful. We believe that M. Bourget has not done so, and his failure in this respect we ascribe to that trait which some of his critics have called—unjustly, we believe—his 'snobisme.'

'M. Bourget³ [says M. Édouard Rod] does not only give an admiring description of the innumerable and pleasing things of which the possession constitutes luxury and of which the use constitutes elegance; he is full of this luxury and this elegance, he lets it pervade the whole being, he is led away by it to the point of forgetting the good in the beautiful, even in the pretty.'

M. Rod goes on to say that this taste for elegance and luxury is little reconcileable with the love of virtue.

'Virtue, what the modern world, since the coming of Christianity, understands by virtue, is humble, poor, *populaire*. Since Jesus has said it, it is difficult for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven, and this is the meaning: how can you give to your soul the care which it needs if you consecrate all your time to toys, lace, or even pencil cases of gold with a pearl at one end, or to the orchids which will decorate your table most expensively?'

This is the serious view of M. Bourget's 'snobisme.' A lighter one, but arriving at the same result, is found in

¹ G. Pellissier, *Études de Littérature Contemporaine*, p. 36.

² *Ibid.* p. 101.

³ *Les Idées Morales du Temps Présent* (Paris, 1897), p. 113.

M. Ernest Charles' *La Littérature Française d'Aujourd'hui*. He was, he says, led away by M. Bourget's pictures of the world 'so lovingly painted,' fascinated by 'its charms, its elegances, its carefully catalogued perfumes.'

We think there is much truth in both these criticisms. Vice refined becomes less hideous than vice in a poor street ; take away the squalor and the poverty, and to some minds the disgust for wrongdoing will disappear with it. To teach the young to be in love with 'elegance' is not to equip them for the battle of life ; and, as we have already said, at times M. Bourget seems to fear that his influence may not have been for the best, and wistfully perhaps he writes such a preface as that to which we have referred. But, as a writer in one of our contemporaries has said,

' did he not remember that malady and not health is contagious ? that warnings pass unheeded, and states of the mind fully described are states of the mind which—as he found in his own person—the younger generation assimilates or seeks to assimilate ? Or must the artist be profoundly immoral, as Renan said ; careless of morality, like nature itself, so long as he is the artist only ? In his last works, still the artist and still the critic of life, seeking to be all warning and guidance, M. Bourget employs his brains in the service of his heart. . . . He has joined MM. de Vogüé, Brunetière and Faguet in advocating the study of pre-revolutionary conditions of society and forms of moral feeling and their approximate revival in the interests of solidarity.'¹

It appears to us that M. Bourget's love of the beautiful in the things which are seen in art, in nature, even in dress and ornaments, obscures the beauty of the unseen ; and yet even as we write it we do not forget the beautiful soul of such a woman as Mme. Liebaut, or of such a man as her rugged husband. But the tendency is there, and we believe it is the cause of much which we deplore in M. Bourget's earlier writings. And yet even there it seems as if the lust of the eye, the pride of life, were only dominant, not entirely triumphant. If we are to believe the testimony of his critics, his own life is simple and laborious enough.

¹ *Quarterly Review*, October 1905.

We leave M. Bourget with a profound admiration for his strength, with a regret that his very strength, his capability of seeing and of feeling—of seeing the evil, seeing the good, seeing into the complexity of the human mind, its tendency to what is low, capabilities of rising high—that the very abundance of his visual power has made him a looker-on, an artist, rather than a champion of the right, and with the acknowledgment that he has a remarkable capacity for seeing the good and the noble while he yet seems to hesitate to strike the decisive blow. The Catholic party still hope great things of him, but as each new book appears the word which will commit him to their banner seems never spoken. M. Grappe, in a charming little monograph, says, very truly,

‘With all his heroes the “Our Father which art in Heaven” has come to the heart but never passed the lips ; now M. Bourget is considering the advisability of making them repeat the words. For all the ferment of anarchy for which no remedy has been found, he has discovered one to-day : the same as Joseph de Maistre, M. de Bonald, Balzac, and Le Play had proclaimed before him—it is the old decalogue of Sinai.’¹

In marked contrast to M. Bourget, one who has been nursed in pre-revolutionary ethics, one whose views of life are as simple and old-fashioned as those in a novel of Hannah More, and yet of such power to charm that his latest book is on every bookstall in France, where he is widely read and justly admired—this strange combination is M. René Bazin, now a member of the Académie Française. No one need fear to recommend or to read any work which bears M. Bazin’s name on the title-page, and Mr. Edmond Gosse has borne delightful testimony to his almost feminine purity of tone. His greatest work is undoubtedly *La Terre qui Meurt*, which treats of the cry of the land, pressing in France as in England ; but his latest, *L’Isolée*, is taken up with the burning question of the ‘Congregations,’ and is one of those abrupt contrasts to what might appear to be the popular feeling in which France delights. It reveals a

¹ Georges Grappe. *Paul Bourget* (Paris : Sansot, 1904), p. 27.

world unknown to most men, the world of the religious in the cloister, reveals it with a sweetness and a tenderness which are far removed from the almost fierce intensity of M. Huysman's studies in the like direction. But to most readers the charm of M. Bazin's writings will be found in his keen realization of the spirit of place. His own childhood was spent in the provinces and 'la douceur angevine,' the sweetness of the spacious country, was there imbibed in those sweet young days and became part of his being ; the flowers, the birds, the country sounds, the falling rain, the large blue skies of France, these were his earlier inspirations, and to them he has never been unfaithful. 'We others, children of the towns, have we ever had a childhood ?' ¹ asks one of M. Bazin's critics in contemplating that youth spent in the country amid the eternal youth of nature.

It is characteristic, too, of this child of the provinces, who, says the same critic, is never met upon the boulevards, that in the work before us he dwells on the little corner of France from which each of his characters comes, and in each character we see the spirit of their native country reflected. The book is, apart from this charm, a sad one. In the words of Zola it is a human cry : it teaches the bitter science of life too truly to be all sunshine. But here, and in all his works, M. Bazin escapes the fault of the realists. He still believes in goodness, and, although the book is not one 'pour les jeunes filles,' it is yet full of that sweetness and of a horror of all that is base and ignoble which is characteristic of the writer. The lover of real literature will have no need to throw *L'Isolée*, still less *La Terre qui Meurt* or the charming *La Sarcelle Bleue*, on one side as deficient in that which makes for good and lasting work. They are instinct with strength as well as charm.

'We love him,' says M. Doumic in a review of M. Bazin in *Études sur la Littérature Française*—a book to which the critic of modern French literature owes much, and from which we have already quoted—'because there is in his works a delicacy of soul and elevated sentiments, and the courage which remains upright and pure, while at the same

¹ *Études sur la Littérature Française*, p. 172.

time he is far-seeing and truthful.¹ His work, says the same critic, 'is for some writers an example, and, for a portion of the public, a lesson.'²

If all M. René Boylesve's works were on a level with *L'Enfant à la Balustrade*, we might recommend them without scruple to *les jeunes filles*. And this is said with no idea uncomplimentary to the book, which, if at first sight it appears trivial, has yet very much of charm. To our minds it is a very just picture of French provincial life, the life lived behind those green doors, those high walls over which the wisteria blossoms droop into the street and make a little line of faint lilac along the dusty pathway where they fall. That life is no doubt a little aimless, and if the book is, as we have said, trivial, it is so because that life is trivial, and M. Boylesve has represented it truly and at the same time tenderly, regarding it rather with pity than with the indignation which to some minds it merits. To us it is even a beautiful book and represents the attempts of a young soul, nursed up in these trivialities, to escape from them in dreams.

But while the careless indifference to all but outward forms, and even the open opposition to the Church, excites no comment in the author, the character of the curé is a really beautiful one, and ranks with Ferdinand Fabre's Abbé Célestin. He 'makes his hash as every one else does, with a saucepan and little onions,' says Mme. Fantin, 'but when it is finished, then he hangs up his utensils among the stars.'³ Marguerite asks to gather one of the roses in his neglected little garden. 'All the flowers are God's, my dear child, he says, 'and only His permission to gather them is needed.'⁴ In malice and unkindness, even when directed against himself, he refuses to believe; they are not bad qualities in the perpetrators of them, but God's methods of trying his servants, of which men are the instruments.

And, if the book is taken up with trivialities, and if the plot is trivial, it is yet often striking, as in the description of the sundial with its motto 'Laedunt omnes, ultima necat.'

¹ *Études sur la Littérature Française*, p. 170.

² *L'Enfant à la Balustrade*, p. 92.

³ *Ibid.* p. 192.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 91.

The boy feels as he looks at it that something goes on there which does not belong to his workaday world. 'In some mysterious way this tablet of stone had been in communion with heaven, and from that communion had come a sad and mighty truth which had taken form and imprint there' ¹—in that motto.

But it is only when sketching these simple and characteristic scenes of provincial life that M. Boylesve is at his best. *Le Bel Avenir* and some of his earlier works have none of the charm of *L'Enfant à la Balustrade*. The pity is infinite that he who can write so delightfully should stoop below his best.

In marked contrast to these two authors who write at their best of their own little corner of the earth, of sweet Anjou or of the spacious Poitiers country, is Pierre Loti, the citizen of the world.

M. Lemaitre, who has always an extraordinary grip of the soul of the writer whom he is considering, says in his *Les Contemporains* that he has been reading Loti's six volumes—he writes in 1888, and these volumes range from *Aziyade* to *Pêcheur d'Islande*, including therefore works of Loti's first and second manner—and he is troubled by them. They are not, he says, great dramas nor subtle analyses of character, and yet they possess and oppress him more than a drama of Shakespeare, a tragedy of Racine or a novel of Balzac. 'Have they, then, a spell in them, witchcraft, a charm which we cannot explain or which is explained by something else than literary merit?' ²

We believe the secret of this charm is not far to find, and it is a charm potent even to those who, like ourselves, lament the sad blots in the author's earlier works. The history of those works is best read with the author's own life.

His childhood was passed in the pleasant Department of Saintonge, washed by the western sea. He is a quiet, silent boy in a strict Protestant household, and has leanings towards a pastor's life in that colourless community. By thirty he has left all such aspirations behind him. He is a

¹ *L'Enfant à la Balustrade*, p. 6.

² *Les Contemporains*, 3rd series, p. 92.

sailor, as all his fathers were ; he has 'grillé sa peau à tous les vents, à tous les soleils, et rôti par tous les bouts le balai de la vie.'

His first books are for the most part recollections of a wild, roving life. His characters are wild sailors, hardly wilder natives ; his feminine characters little more than beautiful savages, mindless, soulless. 'Je pense beaucoup de choses que tu ne puis comprendre,' he says to one of them.

Of these first volumes M. Doumic has said, very truly, 'Stripped of all borrowed charm, these wholly sensual idylls are only vulgar and unpleasant stories ; stories of unions without love, followed by neglect ; the actual reality itself in its repugnant banality.'¹ But while deeply deplored these defects, it would be untrue to say that even these earlier books are deficient in the power of painting which is the author's chief claim to charm ; his descriptions are instinct with colour and life ; he creates around his readers the country he describes. It is a thousand pities that he did not follow the good angel of his genius from the first, and that he combined a grasp of this beautiful earth with a frank paganism and a Rousseau-like sentimentality, which has in it nothing of charm. 'Il n'y a pas de Dieu,' he wrote in these earlier days, 'il n'y a pas de morale ; rien n'existe de tout ce qu'on nous a enseigné à respecter ; il y a une vie qui passe, à laquelle il est logique de demander le plus de jouissances possible en attendant l'epouvante finale qui est la mort. . . .'²

He writes, then, because he feels that everything slips from his grasp, and he wishes to imprison these hours of joy, the scenes of beauty, 'to war against the fragility of things and of his own being', 'pour essayer de prolonger au delà de ma propre durée tout ce que j'ai été ; tout ce que j'ai pleuré, tout ce que j'ai aimé. . . .' Such a desire in a man who has seen much and possesses the gift of words, simple but the best, gives his books an undoubted force. They are not mere bookmaking, but are instinct with the man's own

¹ *Écrivains d'Aujourd'hui*, p. 111.

² Quoted on p. 95 of Lemaître's *Les Contemporains*. Series 3. *Pierre Loti*.

soul, and here we believe is the charm of which M. Lemaître speaks, a charm entirely apart from that of mere literature, the charm of individuality.

In these earlier books sensuality is mingled with something higher, pity and sympathy meet in the same soul. But in *Mon Frère Yves* and the *Pêcheur d'Islande* there is a distinct rise in the moral tone. They are not exotic studies of wild natures. The familiar skies of Brittany, its storm-swept coast, the poor and the humble, the brotherhood of suffering, are here, and over all the grey hue of the tears of humanity.

And *Ramuntcho* rises still higher. It is, as M. Doumic has said, almost religious; it is certainly grand. The scene is laid in that enchanting borderland of France and Spain where the language spoken is alien to the tongue around it and rejected of both countries alike, where the people are of an old, old race, a race to which Spaniards and French are but as mushrooms.

'The shadow of the centuries [says M. Doumic] is on that land. The spirit of ancient days inhabits it, invisible and hidden in the hours when our attention is duped and distracted by multiplicity of sights, but present always, ceaselessly busy, keeping the inhabitants one, leading the infants to work as their fathers have worked on the sides of the same mountain, in the same villages, around the same belfries.'¹

The spirit of other ages indeed plays over the book as over the district. Ramuntcho and his friend in all their young strength stand conquered by the strength of the past. Gracieuse remains safe in her convent because before 'the peace of that cloister, before the whiteness and quietude of that life, they feel themselves vanquished.' The spirit of the past has enshrined itself in those convent walls.

'Now before the peace of the cloister, before the whiteness and all the solemn calm, they feel their courage fail little by little. Both are unbelievers: and yet these symbols empty of all significance have kept enough of might to put them to flight.

¹ *Études sur la Littérature Française*, p. 162.

What good, then, to fight? Why try to set oneself free and employ our powers in useless revolts? Let us try to submit ourselves, to resign ourselves. Keep the traditions of our fathers, which join us to the men of past days as to those of the future. Behind venerable and consecrated formulas are hidden perhaps all that we can know of unknowable truths. To do the same things which our ancestors have done through countless ages, to say blindly the same words of faith, is supreme wisdom, supreme strength.¹

This thought, new in Loti's works, alien to his childhood's faith, alien to the spirit of the age, might seem to be inherent in the air of France itself: something stronger than early impressions, stronger than the experience of life, has laid its hand upon him and, unconsciously perhaps, he is taken captive; the spirit of place arising from the very clods.

The touching and not unromantic history of the family of Margueritte, to which the two brother novelists Paul and Victor Margueritte belong, is told in M. Pilon's little monograph, which bears their name and is published in *Les Célébrités d'Aujourd'hui*, a series of very useful and inexpensive guides to current French literature.

While the brothers have written much which will be forgotten, and while their views on some social questions will always make them unpopular with orthodox French thought, their volume *Le Désastre* ranks deservedly very high among the works of the past ten years. It deals with the Franco-Prussian War, and in that war they had an hereditary interest. The French are of all people most alive to 'les parfums du passé,' to the shadowy influences of childish days; and very few French authors who have made their mark in literature quite escape from these influences. MM. Paul and Victor Margueritte certainly do not, and with them the bias is an eminently noble one. We learn from M. Pilon's monograph that their father was a general in the French army, and that he was born in the little village of Manheulles, between Verdun and Metz. But he had made his home in Algeria, where his sons passed

¹ *Études sur la Littérature Française*, p. 165.

their childhood among its luxuriant vegetation, its mysterious sandy wastes, in the little Arab town with 'its scent of oranges, its narrow Arabian streets where the sound of flutes and the incense of burning cedar-dust filter over the walls,'¹ described with all a Frenchman's not unworthy sentiment in *Le Jardin du Passé*. General Margueritte fell a victim with many another brave man in the 'fantastique charge du calvaire d'Illy, qui fut le seul éclat de gloire sur la boue de Sedan.'² His death was as splendidly heroic as any imaginary episode in a novel ; it was not surprising, then, that his sons, although Paul was only ten, Victor only six at the time of their father's death, should have felt compelled to write the history, in after years, of that most disastrous war.

We venture to say that *Le Désastre* is a great book. It is written with self-restraint, with good taste. Its moral conceptions are lofty. The authors seem to have had ever before their minds a consideration of the ethics of war, its effect upon the mind and on the conduct. Their calmness, too, is admirable, but it never leads to dullness. There are no hysterical outbursts, but there is never any want of deep and proper feeling—feeling for their country's failings and misfortunes ; feeling for the many hearts broken by war, the many dead who are found on no battlefields, in no hospitals, for the many unknown heroes who are shovelled into nameless graves ; feeling, perhaps rare in their nation, for the heroism of the horses, that heroism which has no thought of glory, none of reward.

To have kept a just balance of mind when every heart-string of the writers must have vibrated to the wrongs and misfortunes of the French forces, to have looked at all the side issues, and been just even to the enemy without, and to the authors of misfortunes within, their own camp, is almost unknown in history or in politics. But the brothers Margueritte have shewn themselves eminently fair and just and far-seeing. Even for their leaders they

¹ *Le Jardin du Passé*.

² E. Pilon, *Paul et Victor Margueritte* (Paris : Sansot, 1903), p. 11.

have pity: the 'prestige du malheur' is seen at its full value. For Bazaine, that strange, enigmatical figure, there is 'indignation tempered by wonder.' And is not one great factor in the ill success of the French arms summed up in a sentence which might well become a proverb: 'Combien d'hommes de qui la médiocrité a été le véritable crime'?¹

M. Doumic in his *Études sur la Littérature Française* has summed up the strength of the book in better words than we can find, and they are, too, the words of a Frenchman who has felt the whole as we in England cannot perhaps hope to do.

'The authors of *Le Désastre* [he writes] have told all, the errors, the faults, the levity, the want of foresight, the hesitations, the delays, the lost time, the want of co-operation, the contradictory orders, the infatuations, the rivalries, the misunderstandings of the authorities. They have told the miseries, the disgrace: the town surrendered when it might have still been held, the army of 170,000 men given up when it could have opened a passage for itself, the abandonment of stores which might be used against ourselves, the colours and the eagles, of which a list was made in order that the evidence of our disgrace might be complete; the train which carried the officers stopped while a troop of their own men were defiled past it on their way to captivity, and forced to take up a position before the road of triumph, which was made to the quarters of the Prussian army by overshadowing tricolours. *Il nous ont fait gravir tout le calvaire.*'²

But they have never once, while being thus splendidly truthful, forgotten that they were Frenchmen. The pen which wrote these things 'has trembled in their hands.' They must be just: they yet could not cease to feel all that must be felt in such a page of their history. And they have never lost heart. 'The book which yet can comfort us is a long recital of miseries—this book from which we go forth more confident,' says M. Doumic, 'in the vitality of our country, only recounts hours of bitter distress.'

¹ *Études sur la Littérature Française*, p. 296.

² *Ibid.* p. 294.

And to readers of this Review it will not be uninteresting to note the respectful attitude of the book towards Christianity. Du Breuil seeks for a priest to perform the last offices for his friend: at the funeral service, he, with many another, finds himself moved once more by the incomparable splendour of Catholic ritual. 'The same emotion of remembrance softened many of the rude military faces around him. They dreamt, in this return to their own hearts, of the many varying events which religion makes its own, in life, in death.'¹

And perhaps we shall congratulate ourselves, French literature being what it is, that there is so little of what we generally call romance in this book. M. Doumic indeed finds that little too much. Where war is the drama, history the romance, he finds the little episode of the opal ring and the sweet, pale figure of Anine out of place. But here, too, the authors have been self-restrained.

Le Désastre is the finest of the brothers' collaborated works. The two succeeding volumes of the trilogy, *Les Braves Gens* and *La Commune*, do not equal it in force, and the subject is even more painful, as the title of the latter shews.

M. Paul Margueritte commenced his work as an author without his brother's help, but when ill and unable for a time to continue his contributions to current literature alone, his younger brother, a lieutenant of dragoons, came to his aid, and hence the work 'pensée par les deux.' But before this happy collaboration took place, M. Paul Margueritte had written at least one book which we venture to think ranks high in spite of some faults. '*Jours d'Épreuves*,' says M. Jules Lemaître in *Les Contemporains*, 'is sane, is true; it is sad, it is strengthening.'² It is the story of a young couple taught by poverty, and rising higher under its discipline instead of sinking to lower depths; and although the book is not all we could wish, its lessons are yet salutary, its moral tendency high.

M. Édouard Rod was, we believe, brought up in Switzer-

¹ *Le Désastre*, p. 426.

² *Les Contemporains*, 5th series, 1898, p. 30.

land, and much of the austerity of the Protestant cantons shews itself in his somewhat cold manner and perhaps in his melancholy. But he has little love for the doctrines of Protestantism, that

'rationalizing religion, compromise between dogma and common sense, of which the dialectic and exegesis are lamentably poor, of which the icy worship is only one endless discourse—a string of halting metaphors—of a structure so feeble that a child could break it, recited in a melancholy voice with false action and whining intonation—this religion which cavils instead of loving, and parcels itself out into rancorous sects around texts of the Apocalypse.'¹

But, as we note this, we must not forget M. Rod's exquisite portrait of the Protestant 'Mademoiselle,' old, poor, who turns the yellow leaves of her brown Bible, while her fingers open upon 'radiant passages'; who in 'her lonely silences when saddest recollections might fill her memory with tears,' hears the celestial voice murmuring the invitation, 'Come unto Me'; and 'the splendid Hereafter which shines in the Divine words, would it not make her forget through all eternity the evils which attend upon this short life?' ²

But even here he cannot refrain from the jarring note. He goes to his old friend's funeral, and the pastor who, with raised hands and closed eyes, and a lachrymose voice, repeats the funeral oration, repels him afresh. 'Ces gens-là,' he says, 'ont le talent de dire ce qu'il ne faut pas, et si les libre-penseurs vous dégoûterent de la librepensée, les croyants rendent impossible la foi. . . .'

But for the Mass at St. Sulpice he has only respectful words:

'This service is really a fine sight, which impresses not only by the magnificence of the scene and the pomp of the ceremony, but by the world of ideas by which you are there assailed, by that glimpse of the infinite which is suddenly revealed to you. The candles, the incense, the loud sound of the organ, the chanting of the choir and the intonation of the priest arouse

¹ *Le Sens de la Vie*, p. 273.

² *Ibid.* p. 186.

within your soul a trouble which further increases the contagious faith with which the kneeling crowd inspires you.'¹

The passage which follows is perhaps long to quote, but we venture to do so, both as an example of M. Rod's very dignified and chastened style, and as shewing the remarkable fascination which the Church exercises over the cultivated Frenchman, whether *libre-penseur* or Catholic. Standing under the shadow of St. Sulpice and listening to the service,

'it seems to me that, instead of oscillating as if struck by contrary winds, I found myself on a fixed point in the shelter of solid certainty. . . . Around goes the world with its chimeras, its whims, its tempests; the might of kingdoms moulders like ancient walls, the fashion of society changes, great men disappear in oblivion or revolutions overthrow their statues, violence disfigures the work of violence in an unceasing succession of downfall and resurrection: only the Church remains erect, unmoved—fixed by the will of men or of God—what does it matter?—triumphing at last over all its enemies, extending unceasingly the confines of its realm, absorbing early or late in her vast heart the boldest rebellions. . . . She is the centre of a whirlwind, is immovable, while atoms dance around her, and it is enough to enter for one instant into her circle of action to escape the cyclone which dances and breaks, and destroys around.

'She is immovable while everything passes by: that is the truth which the solemn voice of the organ proclaims, it is the truth inscribed in letters of fire on the tapers glittering in the darkness. I know it, and I hear, nevertheless, growling outside, the dull murmur of world which is going to take me captive again; I sport with increased sensibility with this momentary faith—the halt of a Wandering Jew, or the respite of a condemned prisoner. Oh, I would lose myself in the meaning of the prayers, I would stammer the same words as these, which are rising from all these lips. . . .'²

Neither here nor in any part of the book does he shew any disrespect to the religion of the Church: 'Je trouve que je n'ai plus aucun colère contre la religion—bien au contraire,'³ says the hero—is it M. Rod himself?—in *Le Sens de la Vie*. His picture of the 'pauvre vieille femme' 'en

¹ *Ibid.* p. 305.

² *Ibid.* p. 306.

³ *Ibid.* p. 113.

coiffe noir, en tablier bleu' in the Pantheon, where 'on en chassait Dieu pour faire place à Victor Hugo,' where 'le doux Christ de *l'Imitation* fuyait devant l'homme des *Châtiments*, la bonne sainte Vierge de tant d'affectionneux miracles devant les Marion Delorme et les Lucrèce Borgia.' It was the day of the *désaffection*, and in a corner where an altar remained yet for a moment the old woman knelt 'fidèle au Dieu qu'ils chassaient.'

'She had brought two candles which a cruel breath would extinguish before they were half consumed. Of what grief had she come to lay down the burden there? And when the last altar should have fallen, which of these political quacks would supply her with a means of comfort in her anguish? . . . Then I understood, she was right in spite of all: an instant the flickering light of her two tapers appeared to one as the sunshine of truth, and in passing before the altar I bent the knee and made the sign of the cross.'¹

We have throughout been quoting from M. Rod's most remarkable, and (to our minds) most beautiful book, *Le Sens de la Vie*. Of plot there may be said to be none. A married couple, an engaging little child, 'Bebette'—who falls ill and recovers—this is the whole story. But M. Rod belongs to the new school, that school which was a reaction from realism. It concerns itself not with outside things: action and event are of little moment save as food for thought and as the cause of feeling. The outside world, too, is so little to the hero of the book—again, we say the hero or M. Rod himself, for perhaps the two are interchangeable terms—as he shews when he takes a walk in the Alps, and hardly knows whether he sees the sky, the torrents, the waterfalls; he 'disdains their reality to contemplate their reflections in his own heart.' And in his first pages he throws down his gauntlet and proclaims the spirit of his book.

'What a fatiguing thing is the genius of man!' he writes from Italy, 'After two months passed among the "chefs-d'œuvre," we found at last that the most sublime

¹ *Ibid.* p. 116.

among them was not worth the most humble thought which springs up in our brains, the lightest feeling which makes our own hearts palpitate for a moment.'¹

Here is the dominant idea of the book, and if this count of the beatings of one man's heart leaves—as it must leave—a feeling of undue egoism in the mind of the reader, it is not the less a human document. And M. Rod is never wearisome. He says many things we would rather not have said, and dwells on many events which it would be better to pass over in silence, but he never shocks by his methods of telling the disagreeable.

We need to remember that *Le Sens de la Vie* is one man's outlook on life: it is not life. Or rather life is what we make it; and as we read, we—Englishmen—remember another outlook on life: that of a man tossed by many waves of storm and often borne down by hereditary depression, by manifold wants and distresses, but who stood up bravely to meet the inevitable, and could find happiness in little things, in fireside delights, when the 'black dog,' of which he writes so feelingly, had departed for a season. We remember Johnson, his gloom and his brave words, and Boswell will be taken down from shelves in moments of depression while *Le Sens de la Vie* will be unopened.

And as one of M. Rod's critics remarks, the whole of this most melancholy book tells only of happy events, the moral whereof to the Christian will be that worldly happiness is insufficient without Christian hope to make the crooked straight, the rough places plain; unless a man can

'Raise his repining eyes and take true measure
Of his eternal treasure,'

life must be the hideous mistake which M. Rod has depicted it—with dignity indeed, and with no unseemly railing—in his book.

We have pointed out in these pages some writers of distinction, and have named what we believe to be their finest works. It may be well before we close to look back upon these and ask ourselves what are the tendencies of

¹ *Ibid.* p. 1.

the new school in French literature, that school which has supplanted the realistic school. M. René Doumic has summed up these writers of the last decade as an unquiet generation, men who wish to create an ideal and cannot find one—a very intelligent but a very inartistic generation.

The ideal for which they were looking was, no doubt, Christianity, which possesses always a fascination for them, of which they speak with respect, to which they come back again and again with a persistence which might well carry to their own hearts the conviction that here is what they seek ; but its mysteries can only be rightly judged from within, and they remain without. That they are, too, intelligently alive to all influences of literature and art and life, is true : but M. Doumic's negative proposition—that they are inartistic—we venture to doubt. Of all literary writers surely the French are the most artistic. They can describe trifles so as to surround them with grace ; their books are well proportioned, well put together, they have that nameless charm which is the highest art, and when they avoid the undesirable they are certainly now, as they have ever done, contributing some of the most delightful works to literature that any lover of books can desire. And one other charm these authors possess. They are absolutely individualistic : they have each his own style, his own manner, his own plan for carrying out his plot. This individuality is surely a sign of strength, it is certainly something akin to the old definition of genius. They write what they must in their own manner, and no school can be said to have been formed around this writer or that.

We have taken six authors, and six of their chief works, as representative of current French literature. Although all the writers belong to the school—we are now using this word in a wider sense than that in which we used it above—which succeeded that of naturalism, the books we have named are of very various types. MM. Margueritte's *Le Désastre* is an historical novel ; and a finer one, one which reflects more credit on the mind of its authors, was probably never written. In M. Boylesve's *L'Enfant à la Balustrade*

we believed we saw a promise of a second *Cranford*, which promise unhappily has not been realized in the author's later work. M. Paul Bourget's *Un Divorce* and M. René Bazin's *La Terre qui Meurt*, both elucidate or endeavour to elucidate or to state, problems of the hour, and, in their different manners—the strong and the graceful—are admirable examples of what such novels should be. Pierre Loti's *Pêcheur d'Islande* strikes a different note: Loti is the writer of romance pure and simple, and at his best is full of charm. In M. Édouard Rod's *Le Sens de la Vie* we have problems of the mind rather than those of practical import, stated but not solved. In all these different departures the various authors are far above the average; and the impression left on the mind after a study of contemporary French romance is that it is of a very high order of merit, and that if the French novelist could learn to avoid the unfortunate habit of introducing *tacenda* into his books there would be many to add to the list we have given, many which would rank deservedly high, not only to-day, but in any future history of French literature.

ART. V.—THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE PASTORAL EPISTLES.

II. THE LANGUAGE AND STYLE.

1. *Encyclopaedia Biblica.* Art. *Timothy and Titus (Epistles).* By J. MOFFATT, D.D. (London : A. and C. Black, 1903.)
2. *Hand-Kommentar zum Neuen Testament. Die Pastoral-Briefe.* Von Baron H. VON SODEN. (Freiburg, 1891.)
3. *The Genuineness and Authorship of the Pastoral Epistles.* By J. D. JAMES, B.D. (London : Longmans, 1906.)
4. *Introduction to the Study of the New Testament.* By S. DAVIDSON, D.D. (London : Longmans, 1868.)
5. *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament.* Being Grimm's Wilke's *Clavis Novi Testamenti*, translated, revised, and enlarged by J. H. THAYER. (Edinburgh : T. and T. Clark, 1886.)
6. *An Introduction to the New Testament.* By A. JÜLICHER. Translated by J. P. WARD. (London : Smith, Elder and Co., 1904.)
7. *The Authenticity of St. Paul's Epistles.* A Paper read at the Church Congress, Liverpool, October 1904. By ARTHUR C. HEADLAM, D.D. 'Church Congress Reports.' (London : Bemrose, 1904.)

IN the last number we examined in such detail as our space permitted the objections to the Pauline authorship of the Pastoral Epistles so far as these were based on considerations of the historical situation which their narrative is held to indicate, or upon the nature of the subject-matter of the Epistles. And we ventured to put certain questions to the 'Anti-Pastoralians' based upon grounds of probability, as to whether the hypothesis of the apostolic or pseudo-apostolic authorship raises or solves the greater number of difficulties. So far as the historical situation and the nature of the subject-matter are concerned we think that we can claim to have shewn strong reasons in favour of the Pauline authorship as opposed to the hypo-

thesis of a forger masquerading under his name. But we recognize that this is not the full account of the matter. It is reasonable to suppose that there must be some cause at work which has led so many able and honest men to acquiesce in an hypothesis which, to the unprejudiced, if superficial, observer, appears so glaringly inconsistent with the phenomena for which it is meant to account. Is this to be found in the language and style of the Epistles? These men have made a close study of the language of the Pastorals, and have brought to light some very striking facts. But have they put the right interpretation upon them? That is the question which we have to answer.

Von Soden tells us that there are 897 words used in the Pastorals, of which 304 are not found in St. Paul and 171 not anywhere in the New Testament. That within so short a compass as that of the Pastoral Epistles there should be so many as 171 words which occur nowhere else in the New Testament is a noteworthy fact which certainly challenges our attention. As many have not Von Soden's list before them, let us take a list which is given at the end of Grimm-Thayer's *Lexicon*. Here, by the inclusion of phrases and in other ways to be noticed shortly, the list of peculiarities of expression in the Pastorals is swollen to 197.¹ This is far fuller than the list given by Dr. Samuel Davidson,² a strong opponent of the authenticity of these Epistles, which contains only 175 items. In taking Grimm-Thayer's list, then, we shall be meeting this argument at its strongest, besides having the advantage of appealing to a work generally accessible. In order to avoid any difficulties arising from differences of reading, we shall take '*the Greek Testament with the Revisers' Readings*' as the standard of what is, or is not, contained in the New Testament. Further, '*the Septuagint*' will be mentioned in the course of the argument. Let it be understood that by that term is

¹ The total is stated at the end to be 168, which seems to shew that the list has been added to after a more exact calculation had been made.

² *Introduction to the Study of the New Testament* (Longmans, 1868), vol. ii. pp. 182, 183.

here meant all the books contained in Dr. Swete's three volumes up to the end of Fourth Maccabees.

We are now ready to begin our examination of the 197 words or phrases which have been found peculiar to the Pastoral Epistles.

By a happy accident, which we hail as an omen, the first word on the list is ἀγαθοεργέν, which can no longer be regarded as peculiar to the Pastorals, since it occurs also, according to the Revisers' text, in St. Paul's speech at Lystra. Altogether there are half a dozen items to be subtracted on the ground that they are not peculiar.¹ Next there are a few words which have to be subtracted for the still more cogent reason that they are not in the Pastorals. Αἰχμαλωτεύειν does not now occur in 2 Tim. iii. 6; it does in Eph. iv. 8 (from LXX); κοσμίως has vanished from 1 Tim. ii. 9, and οἰκοδομία from 1 Tim. i. 4. Μητρόπολις also must be omitted, for it occurs only in the subscription to 1 Timothy, which is not in question.

But further the list contains separately ἀδιαφθορία as well as ἀφθορία, παραδιατριβή as well as διαπαρατριβή, παρακαταθήκη as well as παραθήκη. Each of these pairs is not two peculiarities, but one peculiarity. They have only a disjunctive existence. We must, therefore, subtract one or other member of each.² This reduces the list to 184.

So far we have only been 'clearing out the dummies.' How are we to deal with the formidable list of realities which is left? First of all we will lay down a simple principle which will eliminate a good many of them.

St. Paul, it will be conceded, was a diligent student of the Scriptures. He may have been able to read them in the original; but he preferred to do so in a translation. In a word, St. Paul was versed in the Septuagint. Any word, therefore, which occurs in the Septuagint may just as well have been used by him as by his supposed imitator.

¹ ἀγαθοεργέν, Acts xiv. 17; βασιλεὺς τῶν αἰώνων, Rev. xv. 3: οἱ. Tobit xiii. 6; καταστροφή, 2 Pet. ii. 6; κατηγορία, John xviii. 29; μαλεῖν, Acts iv. 25 (from LXX); στεφανοῦ, Heb. ii. 7, 9 (from LXX).

² According to the R.V. text, ἀδιαφθορία, παραδιατριβή, and παρακαταθήκη are the three which have to go.

Consequently we may eliminate the words which occur in the Septuagint. This test is fatal to seventy-three words in our list, which is therefore now reduced to 111 words which do not otherwise occur in the Greek Bible. But ten of these must go; for though they do not themselves occur in the Septuagint, words which imply or suggest them do.¹

But we are still left with 101 peculiarities of diction which appear nowhere else in the Greek Bible. Here a new principle must be brought into play. Any word used by authors prior to St. Paul may as well have been used by Paul himself as by one of his disciples. Is there any force in arguing that the Pastorals are spurious because they contain a word like *ἀπόβλητος*, which is as old as Homer?

Now, of the 101 items in our list, twenty-eight must be excluded as being quite classical,² and Aristotle, who serves as a link between the classical and Hellenistic writers, being the last of the one and the first of the other, enables us to exclude eight more.³

Polybius relieves us of five others,⁴ while Strabo (born about B.C. 66) enables us to eliminate *γραώδης*. The list now stands at fifty-nine.

At this point we require the application of a new principle, which is this: Any word used by an author contemporary

¹ ἀνεξικάκος, 2 Tim. ii. 24

ἀνεξικακία, Wisd. ii. 19.

ἀντίθετος, 1 Tim. vi. 20

ἀντίθετος, Job xxxii. 3.

αὐθεντεῖν, 1 Tim. ii. 12

αὐθέντης, Wisd. xii. 6.

γενεαλογία, 1 Tim. i. 4, Tit. iii. 9

γενεαλογεῖν, 1 Chr. v. 1.

γοής, 2 Tim. iii. 13

γοητεία, 2 Macc. xii. 24.

καυτηριάζειν, 1 Tim. iv. 2

καυτήριον, 4 Macc. xv. 22.

πάροντος, 1 Tim. iii. 3, Tit. i. 7

παροινέν, Is. xli. 12.

πρόκριμα, 1 Tim. v. 21

προκρίνειν, Wisd. vii. 8.

πρόσθλιτος, 1 Tim. v. 21

προσκλίνειν, 2 Macc. xiv. 24.

ψευδολόγος, 1 Tim. iv. 2

ψευδολογεῖν, Dan. O'. xi. 27.

² ἀθλεῖν, αἰσχροκερδής, ἄμαχος (*Æsch. Pers.* 855), ἀμοιβή, ἀνδραποδιστής, ἀνεπίληπτος, ἀνήμερος, ἀρτιος, ἀπόβλητος, διαβεβαιούσθαι, ἐνδύνειν, ἐντρέφεσθαι, ἐπιπλήσσειν, ἐπιστομίζειν, καταλέγεσθαι, κόσμος, μετάληψις, μητραλφας, μονοῦν, νηφάλιος, πατραλφας, πλέγμα, σκέπασμα, σωτήριος, σωφρονίζειν, τυφοῦν, ψευδώνυμος, ὀφελίμος.

³ ἀνανήφειν, κνήθειν, κοινωνικός, πλήκτης, τεκνογονία, τεκνοτροφεῖν, φίλαυτος, φιλόθεος.

⁴ ἀδηλότης, ἀποδοχή, ἀπρόστοτος, ὥητος (iii. 23, § 4), φιλήδονος.

with St. Paul may reasonably be supposed to have been known to St. Paul himself. This postulate disembarrasses us of eight words, which, being used by Philo, might very well have been used by St. Paul.¹ It further relieves us of two words which are used by Josephus.² We are now reduced to forty-nine, which it will be necessary to treat by other methods.

First of all, some allowance must be made for the obvious fact that a new subject-matter calls for a new vocabulary. If this fact be neglected, it would be easy to prove that the *Timaeus* is not by Plato. St. Paul cannot deal with the organization of the Church and the conduct of practical life in the same words in which he would discuss points of doctrine. To this cause we may fairly ascribe the following eight words : ἐπιδιορθοῦν, ἐτεροδιασκαλεῖν, καλοδιδάσκαλος, ξενοδοχεῖν, οἰκοδεσποτεῖν, οἰκονύργος, τεκνογονεῖν, φίλανδρος, together with others which have already disappeared from our list on prior grounds. Similarly his detestation of the Jewish Gnostics doubtless called forth such terms as κενοφωνία, λογομαχεῖν, λογομαχία, ματαιολογία, ματαιολόγος. These the Apostle very likely invented for the occasion. If these remarks be admitted as sound, the list has now come down to thirty-six.

But further there is always an element of pure chance in language. The presence in the Pastorals only of μεμβράνα, στόμαχος, and φαιλόντς is due to the writer's requiring to mention those things. As to the application of προφήτης to a pagan prophet in one place only, it is only in the Epistle to Titus that any New Testament writer has occasion to speak of a pagan prophet. Epimenides was a prophet in every sense of the term, and there was no reason why he should not be called one.³ These considerations rid us

¹ ἀνθλυτις = death (*In Flac.* § 23), ἀντιδιατίθεσθαι, ἀσπόνδος, διδακτικός, περιπέρειν (*in Flac.* § 1), πραῦπδθεια, στυγγρός (*De Dec. Orac.* § 24), σωθρονισμός.

² ἀνεπαλαχυτος (*Ant.* xviii. 7, § 1), περιστασθαι (*Ant.* iv. 6, § 12).

³ Cic. *Div.* I. § 34 : ii, qui . . . concitatio quadam animi aut soluto liberoque motu futura praesentiunt . . . ut Bacis Boeotius, ut Epimenides Cres, ut Sibulla Erythraea.

of four out of the thirty-six items last mentioned, leaving us with thirty-two.

Let us now lay down a modest principle, against which objection can hardly lie. It is this: Words formed by composition or derivation from admittedly Pauline words may more reasonably be supposed to have come from St. Paul himself than from a purely hypothetical imitator. Seven words come under the operation of this principle.¹

Great stress has been laid on *αἰρετικός* as a sign of late date. But the word *αἰρέσεις* is used in an invidious sense by St. Paul both in 1 Cor. xi. 19 and in Gal. v. 20. In the latter passage *αἰρέσεις* are included among 'the works of the flesh.' Is it unlikely, then, that in writing to Titus Paul should advise him to avoid an *αἰρετικός ἄνθρωπος* who proved impervious to admonition? *Ἐπισωρεύειν* is used not only in the *Pastorals*, but also in the *Epistle of Barnabas*. *Τπερπλεονάζειν* is found in the *Pastor of Hermas* (*Mand.* v. 2, § 5), to express the overflow of a vessel.

We have now come down to twenty-five. A principle similar to the preceding will enable us to dispense with five of these. It is that words formed from Biblical, though non-Pauline, words may just as easily have occurred to St. Paul himself as to a later imitator. Five items fall under this canon.² With regard to *ἀπόδεκτος* we may notice that

¹ *αἰρετικός*, Tit. iii. 10
αὐτοκατάκριτος, Tit. iii. 11

διώκτης, 1 Tim. i. 13
έδραιώμα, 1 Tim. iii. 15

ἐπισωρεύειν, 2 Tim. iv. 3

ὑπερπλεονάζειν, 1 Tim. i. 14
φρεναπάτης (= *φρεναπατητής*), Tit. i.

10

² *ἀπόδεκτος*, 1 Tim. ii. 3, v. 4
ἀφιλάγαθος, 2 Tim. iii. 3
ἐκζῆτησις, 1 Tim. i. 4
καταστρημάν, 1 Tim. v. 11
συγκακοπαθεῖν, 2 Tim. i. 8, ii. 3

αἴρεσις, 1 Cor. xi. 19.
κατακρίνειν, 1 Cor. xi. 32.
κατάκριτος, 2 Cor. iii. 9, vii. 3.
διώκειν, Rom. xii. 14, &c.
έδραος, 1 Cor. vii. 37 ; xv. 58 ;
Col. i. 23.
σωρεύειν ἐπί, Rom. xii. 20
(*c. LXX.*)
πλεονάζειν, 2 Thess. i. 3, &c.
φρεναπατᾶν, Gal. vi. 3.

ἀποδίχεσθαι, Luke and Acts.
φιλάγαθος, Wisd. vii. 22.
ζῆτησις, Acts xv. 2, xxv. 20,
John iii. 25.
στρημάν, Rev. xviii. 7, 9.
κακοπαθεῖν, James v. 13 ;
LXX Jonah iv. 10.

the extensive employment of the verbal adjective is a mark of later Greek. *προσδεκτός* is used also in 1. Clement vii. 3.

But it will be admitted further that any words formed from others which are known to have been current in the Greek language before the time of St. Paul may as easily have been invented or adopted by himself as by a pseudonymous and later author. Of this nature is *ἀδιαφθορία* (Tit. ii. 7 marg.) formed from the perfectly classical *ἀδιάφθορος*; or, if anyone prefers the reading *ἀφθορία*, then we may point to the prior existence of *φθορά* which is used in a moral sense in 2 Pet. i. 4. *Τποτύπωσις* also (1 Tim. i. 16; 2 Tim. i. 13) has nothing remarkable about it, when we consider how common the verb *ὑποτυποῦν* is in Aristotle. The transition of meaning from 'sketch' to 'pattern' is an easy one. A line pencilled by the teacher for the learner to ink over gives us an idea of how it might come about.

We have now got down below the score, but have reached an irreducible minimum of eighteen peculiarities of diction, which refuse to lend themselves to further generalization, and will consequently have to be treated separately.

Αντίλυτρον (1 Tim. ii. 6) is a very rare word. But does that make it likely that it would be used by St. Paul's imitator rather than by himself? The same may be said of *δίλογος* (1 Tim. iii. 8). Polycarp, we may be sure, thought he was echoing St. Paul, when he recommends the deacons (Phil. v. 2) to be *μὴ διάβολοι, μὴ δίλογοι*. The word *γυναικάριον* occurs in Epictetus (*flor. A.D. 90*), and is formed on the analogy of *ἀνδράριον*, which we find in Aristophanes (*Ach. 517*). *Γάγγραινα* is used by Plutarch (*flor. A.D. 80*) and doubtless by medical writers before him. If St. Paul did not know it otherwise, he may have picked it up from the lips of his constant companion, 'the beloved physician.' The construction *σώζειν εἰς* (2 Tim. iv. 18) has been pointed to as occurring in the New Testament only in the Pastorals, but then it is found also in 4 Macc. xv. 3 (*τὴν εὐσέβειαν . . . τὴν σώζουσαν εἰς αἰώνιον ζωήν*), and is a sort of pregnant construction which need not surprise us anywhere. *Διαπαρατριβή* (1 Tim. vi. 5) is a strange word whether used by St. Paul or another, but this piling of one

preposition on another is one of the characters of Hellenistic Greek. In the Septuagint (2 K. iii. 30) we have the compound *διαπαρατηρεῖσθαι*, and Josephus (*Ant.* x. 7, § 5) uses *διαπαροῦνται*. The adverbial use of *Ἐλαττον* occurs in the New Testament only in 1 Tim. v. 9, but it has two parallels in 2 Maccabees (x. 18, xii. 4). The phrase *ἐκλεκτοὶ ἄγγελοι* belongs to that angelology of the Jews of which we know so little (*cf.* 1 Cor. xi. 10). It certainly affords no argument for spuriousness, when we remember that in St. Luke's Gospel (ix. 26) we read of the Son of Man coming 'in His own glory, and the glory of the Father, and of the holy angels.' Adjuration by the angels was evidently a Jewish formula, for we find it put into the mouth of King Herod Agrippa II. by Josephus.¹ As for the 'elect' angels, they may have been the same as the six first-created angels, to whom, according to Hermas (*Vis.* III. 4, § 1), God entrusted all the rest of His creation. The word *εὐμετάδοτος* (1 Tim. vi. 18) is used also by Clement of Alexandria and by Marcus Aurelius (I 14, VI. 48). It was no doubt part of the terminology of the Stoics, who supplied the Greek world with its popular moral philosophy. *Στρατολογεῖν* (2 Tim. ii. 4) is used by Plutarch, whose life overlapped that of St. Paul. With regard to *θεόπνευστος* (2 Tim. iii. 16) the wonder is, not that it should be used in the Pastorals, but that it should be so difficult to produce instances of its use elsewhere. Philo held the verbal inspiration of the LXX, but he manages to avoid this particular word in expressing the idea (II. 140, *Vit. Mos.* II. § 7). The expression *ιερὰ γράμματα* stands alone in the New Testament in 2 Tim. iii. 15. But what of that, when it is commonly employed both by Philo and Josephus? '*Ἐτεροδιδασκαλεῖν* has already been eliminated. It is found for the first time in 1 Tim. i. 3, but the circumstances of the Apostle's life may well have given rise to his need of the word. Ignatius was doubtless inspired by the Pastorals when he wrote to Polycarp (iii. 1): *Οἱ δοκοῦντες ἀξιόπιστοι εἶναι καὶ ἐτεροδιδασκαλοῦντες μή σε καταπλησσέτωσαν. Στῆθι ἐδραῖος ὡς ἄκμων τυπτόμενος.*

¹ *B. J.* II. 16, § 4 *ad fin.* Μαρτύρομαι δὲ ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμῶν τὰ ἄγια καὶ τοὺς ἱεροὺς ἀγγέλους τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ πατρίδα τὴν κοινὴν.

This verb ἐτεροδιδασκαλεῖν means to teach anything contrary to that λόγος ὑγιῆς (Tit. ii. 8), or 'pattern of sound words,'¹ which was St. Paul's own doctrine, and which was 'sound,' not because it was St. Paul's, but because to his mind it represented the teaching of Jesus Christ himself.² The phrase ὑγιαίνοντες λόγοι was not unknown to contemporary Greek, being used by Philo (II. 32, *De Abr.* § 38), though in a different sense. 'Η μακαρία ἐλπίς' (Tit. ii. 13), so far from having anything un-Pauline about it, affords a presumption of Pauline authorship, if we compare Galatians v. 5, where ἐλπίς is used in the same objective way as here. 'Η καλὴ ὁμολογία' (I Tim. vi. 12, 13) is a new phrase which does not occur elsewhere in St. Paul's writings, but then ὁμολογία in this technical sense is used in 2 Cor. ix. 13 and is a favourite word with the author of Hebrews (iii. 1, iv. 14, x. 23; cf. xiii. 15). The often recurring πιστὸς ὁ λόγος (I Tim. i. 15, iii. 1, iv. 9; 2 Tim. ii. 11; Tit. iii. 8) has light thrown upon it by the expression used in Tit. i. 9. τοῦ κατὰ τὴν διδαχὴν πιστοῦ λόγου (cf. Acts ii. 42), which shews that it refers to the teaching of the Lord and His apostles, preserved either orally or already in a written form among their disciples. A comparison with the Book of Revelation³ suggests that St. Paul is here using a formula already current in the Church. It is, however, so much in accordance with his own way of speaking (I Cor. i. 9, x. 13, 2 Cor. i. 18; 1 Thess. v. 24; 2 Thess. iii. 3, cf. Heb. x. 23) that we may surmise that this formula was introduced by him. Lastly the insertion of ἐλεος between χάρις and εἰρήνη in the initial formula of benediction (I Tim. i. 1, 2 Tim. i. 1) has even been alleged as an indication of spuriousness, as if such a fact did not tell exactly the opposite way. A person wishing to pass as St. Paul would certainly adhere to the phraseology which is found in all the Apostle's other letters, whereas it would scarcely occur to Paul to guard against the suspicion of forging his own correspondence.

¹ 2 Tim. i. 13, ὑποτύπωσιν . . . ὑγιαίνοντων λόγων.

² I Tim. vi. 3, Εἴ τις ἐτεροδιδασκαλεῖ, καὶ μὴ προσέρχεται ὑγιαίνοντι λόγοις, τοῖς τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

³ Rev. xxi. 5, xxii. 6, Οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι πιστοί καὶ ἀληθινοί.

In writing to his son Timothy, and to him alone, something prompts St. Paul to insert the word ἔλεος; in his letter to Titus he reverts to his usual formula of χάρις καὶ εἰρήνη. But in the insertion of ἔλεος there is nothing contrary to Jewish or Christian practice. The letter of John the Elder to the elect lady has χάρις, ἔλεος, εἰρήνη, as in the letters to Timothy. In Jude we find ἔλεος ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη καὶ ἀγάπη πληθυνθείη. Ignatius, at the end of his letter to the Church of Smyrna, has the words: χάρις ὑμῖν, ἔλεος, εἰρήνη, ὑπομονὴ διὰ παντός. Polycarp also to the Philippians begins with ἔλεος ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη, and the letter from the Church of Smyrna to the Church of Philomelium with ἔλεος καὶ εἰρήνη καὶ ἀγάπη. Further, in the Wisdom of Solomon iii. 9 we meet the words ὅτι χάρις καὶ ἔλεος τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς αὐτοῦ.

Our list is now reduced to zero, and it is not easy to see where the evidence for non-Pauline authorship has come in.¹ For the convenience of the reader we here summarize the constituents of which this formidable list was composed. It will be understood, of course, that each word has been excluded on a single principle only, whereas many might have been excluded on more than one. Thus, when we reckon ten words as found in Philo and Josephus, that means that we have only needed to have recourse to those authors in the case of ten words.

¹ We have confined ourselves to the positive arguments based on phraseology against the genuineness of the Pastorals. How little is to be got out of the negative line of attack may be seen from striking instance. Professor Jülicher, in his *Introduction to the New Testament* (p. 181 of the English translation), writes: 'The fact that brings conviction is that many words which were indispensable to Paul are absent from the Pastoral Epistles—e.g. particles like ἄρα, διό, διότι.' But this Dr. Headlam, in a paper read at the Church Congress in 1904, was able to shew reason for doubting: 'What are the facts about these words? ἄρα occurs twenty-six times in the four Epistles of the second group, only three times in all the others, not at all in Colossians, Philemon, or Philippians. Is this a word indispensable to St. Paul? διό occurs eighteen times in the four Epistles of the second group, but not at all in Colossians or 2 Thessalonians. διότι does not occur at all in 2 Thessalonians, 1 Corinthians, Ephesians, Colossians, or Philemon.'

Words not peculiar to the Pastorals	6
Words not contained in the Pastorals	4
Alternative readings	3
Words found in the Septuagint	73
Words closely related to Septuagint words	10
Words found in classical authors	28
Words found in Aristotle	8
Words found in Polybius	5
Words found in Strabo	1
Words found in Philo or Josephus	10
Words arising out of a new subject-matter	13
Words present owing to pure chance	4
Words formed from Pauline words	7
Words formed from Biblical words	5
Words formed from pre-Pauline words	2
Miscellaneous residue discussed separately	18
Total	197

The reader can arrive at the words found in the Septuagint by subtracting from the sum-total of Grimm-Thayer's list all those which have been mentioned in the course of the argument. He can then verify our accuracy by looking the seventy-three words up in Hatch and Redpath's *Concordance to the Septuagint*.

It must not be supposed that, because we have here been criticizing Grimm-Thayer's list, we have therefore been combating the views of either Grimm or Thayer. The list in question is immediately followed by another of words peculiar 'both to the Pastoral and the other Pauline Epistles,' and in the Prefatory Remarks by Thayer to the Appendix we read this weighty warning: 'The monumental misjudgments committed by some who have made questions of authorship turn on vocabulary alone will deter students, it is to be hoped, from misusing the lists exhibiting the peculiarities of the several books.' The nature of these 'monumental misjudgments' we can only surmise, but of this we feel quite sure: namely, that an Eiffel-esque error has been built up with regard to the Pastorals, which it is high time for someone to demolish.

'The style,' it has been said, 'is the man.' But no one has ever maintained that the vocabulary is the man. The style may be the same, while the vocabulary alters ; for the one is form and the other matter. Now the style of these Epistles, we venture to assert, is thoroughly Pauline. For the present this assertion must go unsupported. But it cannot be met by a counter-assertion on the part of the critics that the style is thoroughly un-Pauline ; for their case is that the writer of the Pastorals was saturated with St. Paul's style, but though he had successfully imposed upon the world for eighteen centuries he could not imitate it quite well enough to elude their perspicacity.

We shall, perhaps, be told that we have obscured the cumulative force of the argument by an examination of details ; that, in fact, we have been affording an example of the logical fallacy known as the Sorites. In the typical instance of this fallacy the sophist is supposed to subtract one grain from a heap of corn, and then to ask whether it is still a heap, a process which is continued until the respondent is unable to assert that there is still a heap. The fallacy lies in the contention of the sophist that one grain makes the difference between a heap and not a heap. Now the process which we have been pursuing does indeed bear a superficial resemblance to this, but intrinsically it is quite different. We have been adopting the laborious, but only safe, method of proving a universal negative : namely, by a perfect induction. We have been shewing that there is not a single item in the whole list of peculiarities of diction which is *of a kind to prove the desired conclusion*. It is as though one were to take up each component part of the heap separately and to shew by inspection that it is not grain but chaff. Unless you alter the nature of the constituents, you may heap the pyramid sky-high, but it will be chaff still, out of which the bread of truth will never be extracted. We have adduced evidence to shew that there is not one word or phrase in the Pastorals which affords a presumption that they were written forty years after the death of St. Paul.¹ But all

¹ Dr. Sanday's eminently true assertion that 'nothing really un-

the time this proof has been superfluous, since no one possesses so fine a critical faculty as to distinguish between the language of periods which lie so close to one another.

But, it may be said, though the divergence of diction is not a proof of *later*, it is surely a proof of *non-Pauline* authorship. Whoever wrote the *Pastorals*, at least it cannot have been St. Paul; and, as no one could have successfully counterfeited the Apostle's writing during his lifetime, we must suppose that it was done after his death. This brings us to the real significance of those striking facts of language which have tempted the critics into their erroneous conclusion.

Some men get through life with a very limited stock of words, which serve them not only for the ordinary purposes of life, but also for those of literary composition. St. Paul was not one of these. He has a wider range of vocabulary than any other New Testament writer, and may not unjustly be suspected of having sometimes invented words to suit his purpose. In each of his Epistles there is a certain number of words which occur nowhere else in the New Testament. Having had occasion in a different connexion to note these carefully, we are able here to give a summary of results. The pages which have been taken as the unit of measurement are those of the *Revisers' text*. They are not absolutely equal, because there are sometimes more various readings at the bottom of one than of the other, but they will serve for a rough and ready calculation.

I. Thess. . .	20	peculiarities in 6 pages	= 3·3	in one page
II. Thess. . .	8	"	3	" = 2·6 "
I. Cor. . .	103	"	27	" = 3·814 "
II. Cor. . .	93	"	18	" = 5·16 "

Pauline has been proved in any of the disputed epistles' is thus answered(!) in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, vol. iv., col. 5081, note 4: 'General assertion, bolstered up by the opinion of those like-minded—this is not the way in which an intelligent man, who has solid arguments at his disposal, maintains an imperilled cause.' This, we may remark in passing, is not the way to speak of one who has shewn so good an example of courtesy to opponents, and who, though well able to look after himself in argument, is quite unskilled in 'throwing brickbats.'

Gal.	33	peculiarities in 5 pages	= 6·6	in one page
Rom.	102	„ 27 „	= 3·7	„
Phil.	40	„ 6½ „	= 6·153	„
Col.	38	„ 6½ „	= 5·846	„
Philemon	6	„ 1½ „	= 4·8	„
Eph.	40	„ 9½ „	= 4·210	„
Pastorals	169	„ 15 „	= 11·26	„

The above table has not been prepared with a view to eliciting a particular result. Davidson¹ reckons fifty-seven peculiarities of expression in Galatians, whereas we allow only thirty-three; in Philippians his estimate is fifty-four, ours only forty; he says that in the Epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians together there are 143, whereas we assign only thirty-eight to Colossians and 40 to Ephesians. But even so, though the Pastorals easily head the list in the number of their peculiarities, yet the excess per page of the Pastorals over Galatians is hardly more than the excess of Galatians over 2 Thessalonians. The former is slightly above four and a half, the latter is exactly four. The same method, then, which would prove that the Pastorals are by a different hand from Galatians might be used to prove that Galatians is by a different hand from 2 Thessalonians.

The real significance of the striking facts of language brought to light with regard to the Pastorals is merely to shew the *copia verborum* possessed by St. Paul, and that old age did not "wither it, nor custom stale its infinite variety." Just as Bacon's style became more ornate and metaphorical the older he grew, so does St. Paul's teem more with new words. The Church was older when the Pastorals were being written than at the time of the other Epistles, and things developed in it very rapidly. St. Paul's impressionable nature made him quick to pick up the language of a new era. Moreover, he was writing on fresh topics, which, of course, would call for a new vocabulary. There is no more mystery about the matter than that. The spuriousness of the Pastorals is simply a mare's-

¹ *Introduction to the Study of the New Testament*, vol. ii. p. 124.

nest which the critics have discovered for the astonishment and dismay of themselves and others. Instead of arguing that the *Pastorals* are spurious because they contain a number of new words, we ought really to argue from the obvious genuineness of the *Pastorals* to the danger of condemning a work on the ground of a difference of vocabulary.

ART. VI.—GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE IN ENGLAND.

Gothic Architecture in England : an analysis of the origin and development of English Church architecture from the Norman Conquest to the dissolution of the monasteries. By FRANCIS BOND, M.A. (London : B. T. Batsford. 1905.)

THE student has shifted his point of view considerably since, about a century ago, he took up the study of mediaeval architecture. He began, perhaps not altogether unnaturally, by thinking of it as a scheme of decoration. He sought for the prototypes of its most complex productions in the wilds. He conjectured, if we remember rightly, that the fully developed many-ribbed vault was suggested to the primitive builder by the branches of trees as seen down a forest glade. He soon got past this stage, but for long afterward he devoted his attention to classifying and describing fonts and other church furniture.

It is comparatively lately that Gothic architecture has been recognized as essentially a system of construction. Decorative forms owe much to their classical parentage and little or nothing to forest flowers ; the plan and arrangement of our buildings were dictated by practical considerations and not by a love of symbolism. The main lines of the design are the result of engineering necessity : how to build economically and how to make the building stand ; how to keep out the weather and how to let in the light.

The book before us is an eminently sober 'analysis of the origin and development of English Church architecture.'

The author limits himself to the consideration of ecclesiastical work, not from any mistaken notion that Gothic architecture was confined to churches, but as seeing in those buildings Gothic art at its highest. It should be noted too that it is architecture and architecture only which he handles ; we might almost say building and building only. Ritual arrangement is not touched ; 'Easter sepulchre,' 'font,' 'sedile' are not found in the index ; painting and figure sculpture are hardly mentioned. The origin and growth of the church plan in early times is dealt with very briefly ; these were the outcome of ecclesiastical requirements and social conditions with which Mr. Bond has nothing to do.

But within this restricted view of what English Church architecture means Mr. Bond has made a book which, while not quite adequate in its treatment nor startling in its novelty, is a plain and practical exposition of Gothic construction. His strong points are his common-sense views and his insistence on constructional expediency as the prime cause of architectural form.

'Why did the Romanesque and Gothic builders, practically universally, construct their compound arches, not in concentric, but in recessed orders ? . . . The true explanation probably lies in a fact which had the most profound influence in conditioning the methods of building construction not only among the mediaeval builders but among Oriental, Roman, and Byzantine builders also . . . the necessity to economise centering [*i.e.* the temporary frame on which an arch is built] and planks. . . . The fact is that the invention of the circular saw, and the application of water-power or steam-power to drive it, have revolutionised the methods of building construction. . . . Let us suppose that the wall to be carried by this compound arch is six feet thick. If the arch had been constructed in three non-recessed orders, the innermost order would be six feet broad. Therefore, in order to construct this innermost order, it would be necessary to construct a temporary wood arch (a "centre") six feet broad. Instead of that, a centre has been put together, say two feet broad. On this the first order, a narrow stone arch, is built ; also two feet broad. On the back of that is built another stone arch, say four feet broad ; on the back of that is built

another, six feet broad. . . . And all this without having to enlarge at all the original wooden centre of a breadth of two feet only.'

Mr. Bond writes in a plain and simple style well suited to his view of his subject. His periods do not warm the blood, and they are unfortunately interrupted by long strings of examples almost all of which should have been relegated to footnotes. And here we must beg leave to protest against the size and weight of the book. It should certainly have been bound in two volumes; moreover space, and consequently weight, might have been saved in half a dozen ways. Having said this much by way of criticism we gladly turn to praise Mr. Bond's illustrations both as regards choice and execution. Plans, measured drawings, sketches and photographs numbering altogether not less than twelve hundred and fifty-four are most judiciously chosen and are absolutely first-rate in execution.

The writer's treatment is admirably clear and methodical, though perhaps he has too great a tendency to analyze and to pigeon-hole. He sees clearly, perhaps too clearly. He can always point out the engineering difficulty, the practical cause and the logical effect. He perhaps hardly gives full value to the multiplicity and complexity of the influences which were at work in shaping Gothic.

The roots of Gothic architecture strike deep into the native soil, but they also spread wide. Saxon and Norman and Dane are we—aye, and Roman and Byzantine, Saracen and Greek and Frenchman too. Although the new influence sometimes proved weak and temporary, it was often strong and permanent.

The very cloister itself is an example of the strength of tradition. Surely no eighteenth-century reproduction of an Italian villa was a more blind and unreasoning copy of a building designed for a widely different climate than was the monastic cloister. A passage formed by a lean-to roof against another building, the lower edge supported upon wood posts or stone columns, was a pleasant enough place for a study in Italy during the greater part of the year; but in England it was intolerable, and all through

the Middle Ages the monks were devising means for abating its terrors. For under any conditions it gave the maximum of exposure and the minimum of accommodation, and when the price of glass was prohibitive the cold could not but have been unbearable. Little sentry-box-like things called carrels, forming separate studies for the monks, were first put up. Then the windows which took the place of the row of columns were gradually reduced in size and glazed. When the cloister of Gloucester was rebuilt in the fourteenth century recesses were made specially as carrels or places of study, each lighted by a small glazed window.

The cloister and other features such as the triforium are but illustrations of the staying power of tradition when once established; and it became established in a variety of ways. Rivalry of course was not without its influence. We may doubt if considerations of safety from fire had so much to do with the use of vaulting as the fact that the abbot liked to have everything handsome about him. To symbolism Mr. Bond, rightly as we think, attaches no importance, and it is curious to find him referring to the 'heaven-pointing' spire as symbolical. He allows at the same time that it is but an attenuated pyramidal stone roof. That the idea of symbolism should occur to the poetic fancy is natural enough. The fact is the mediaeval artist used no symbolism that we know of, and the phenomenon is the more remarkable when we consider how popular was the conceit of type and anti-type and the like and how fundamental the doctrine of the sacraments. But all symbolism in mediaeval art was invented to fit a pre-existing design, the symbol was not designed as a symbol. Thus an inward meaning was attached in early times to each vestment worn by the priest while engaged in his sacred offices, whereas almost all those vestments were the lineal descendants of the common Roman secular dress modified to assimilate them to the costume of the Jewish priesthood. In architecture the striking instance is the cruciform plan of the church, slowly developed from a primitive plan which had been adopted for purely

practical purposes, and then perpetuated for its symbolical form.

It was in the years following the Scottish mission of St. Aidan to Northumbria that English church building began to assume definitely that form and those characteristics which were to distinguish its later history. St. Augustine was dead. His work had made little headway under his own guidance, but had now found support in the north from St. Wilfrid. The land had been brought under obedience to Rome, and the northern and southern influences, the Italian training of St. Augustine and the Celtic traditions of St. Aidan were becoming united. In the north and in the midlands, and to some extent in the west, the British mission was predominant. The buildings were small and simple. There was a somewhat tall and narrow western tower with perhaps a small square porch attached to its western side ; the chancel was always square ended. St. Augustine's influence was confined to the south-east. His churches were of the basilican type to which he had been accustomed in Rome : nave and aisles, a vaulted crypt or confessio under the presbytery, a porch or narthex extending across the other end with three doors leading into the church, perhaps transepts, an apsidal chancel.

These two types were now being amalgamated, but the Celtic type was proving the stronger. The square east end was retained. The confessio or crypt built to contain the tombs of the saints was not long to remain ; examples are to be seen at Repton, Ripon, Brixworth in Northamptonshire, Wing in Buckinghamshire, Hexham, and there are traces elsewhere ; but the confessio was one of those importations from Rome which did not take root. England indeed had her confessors, but they were not henceforth to be buried thus. Indeed, as we conceive the matter, they had not been so buried in Rome. The vault had not been prepared for future interments ; the sepulchre of the martyr or the place where he had suffered was holy ground over which the church was built at a later time.

Which way did these early Saxon churches face ? Was the altar at the east or at the west end ? There is, we

believe, no example extant of a Saxon church in England with the entrance towards the east, though the crypt of Hexham suggests this arrangement.¹ But Hexham, it has been objected, was built by the ultramontane Wilfrid, who had such a scorn for English ways. All the more reason, we reply, for its having an eastern door and a western altar. Has not St. Peter's itself the entrance towards the east and have not also three out of every four of the other old churches of Rome? The remains of the Romano-British church found a few years ago at Silchester have the apse towards the west and the narthex to the east.

It is now generally held that the apse whether at the east or west end was in some sort a reproduction of the tribune of the pagan secular basilica. The altar stood under the arch and the seats for the presbyters were against the semi-circular wall. The raised central seat for the bishop or other of the clergy was consequently behind the altar. In a few English churches there are still some traces of this arrangement. The fine Norman church at Stewkley has a square east end, but the sedile is of the primitive bench sort with a massive stone arm at the end, instead of being in an arched recess like those of later times. The cathedral and conventional church of Norwich preserves its throne. The semicircular flight of steps which led up to it were destroyed long ago, probably in the fourteenth century. But not long since there was to be seen on the pavement a curved line cut by the Norman mason to mark the place for the lowest step. This interesting little trace of the Norman arrangement was deliberately removed by the nineteenth-century 'restorers,' actually in the process of 'restoring' the Norman arrangement—a process which involved the destruction of work of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. A satire indeed on the process called 'restoration.'

Norwich is in fact one of the very few of our great churches which retain the Norman east end. In almost every other instance the presbytery was lengthened in the

¹ The present upper church is, of course, almost 'modern' compared with the venerable crypt, and may be left out of account.

thirteenth or fourteenth century. The Norman presbyteries were short in proportion to the enormous naves, and these later extensions towards the east gave more space for minor altars and for the numerous pilgrims who visited the principal shrine.

The Norman east end is fully discussed by Mr. Bond. There were two principal types: (1) that which he calls the 'triapsidal' plan, in which the body of the choir and the two aisles are each terminated by an apse, and (2) the 'periapsidal' plan, in which the aisles are continued round a central apse and are flanked by radiating chapels, as in the abbey church of Westminster built by the Confessor and rebuilt by Henry III.

'Whence came these apses with circumambient aisles in Ernulph's Canterbury; St. Augustine's, Canterbury; Norwich; Gloucester; . . . St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield; Winchester; St. Werburgh, Chester; St. John's in the Tower of London, and the Norman Abbey of Westminster? Hardly from Normandy; for "till Fécamp, A.D. 1082, there was no 'Rond-Point' in Normandy; and Fécamp remained without imitators for at least a century." Nor again is the ambulatory characteristic of the Romanesque schools of Lombardy, Germany, Provence or Perigueux. Three schools employ it most: those of (1) Burgundy, (2) Poitou, (3) Auvergne and Toulouse. It is difficult to connect historically eleventh-century England with Auvergne and Toulouse. In Burgundy the periapsidal plan is characteristic, especially in the great churches of the Cluniac Order. Cluny, the largest Romanesque church in Christendom, had this plan. . . . It were natural to suppose that the grand church of Cluny would be the leading influence in England in the eleventh century. But, in the first place, the Cluniac Order was never strong in England; and nearly all our periapsidal churches were Benedictine. (2) Chronology forbids the supposition. The ambulatory of Cluny was not commenced till 1089; but that of Winchester was begun in 1079, that of Worcester in 1084, Gloucester in 1089; while the little chapel in the Tower of London is c. 1080; and Edward the Confessor's abbey church at Westminster, consecrated in 1065, had an ambulatory. . . . So far as dates go, therefore, it would be more reasonable to derive the ambulatory of Cluny from that of Westminster than that of Westminster from that of Cluny.

'The truth is, both are derived from one common source ; and that source is to be found in one of the most important abbey churches in mediaeval Europe, a special resort of pilgrims, St. Martin, Tours. Excavations made in 1860 have shown that the great double ambulatory and radiating chapels—a work of the thirteenth century, destroyed at the French Revolution—were an amplification of an earlier eastern limb, built between 997 and 1014, which consisted of a choir of two bays and an apse of five bays, surrounded by a single ambulatory and five radiating chapels. . . . And so we arrive at the unexpected conclusion that the great majority of our Norman churches are probably not Norman in their planning, but hail from St. Martin de Tours.

'The convenience and superiority of the peripteral as compared with the triapsidal plan must have been from the first manifest. The fact that it occurs first in the great pilgrim-churches of Western France may point to its origin. The triapsidal plan meant danger to life and limb on days of crowded pilgrimages. But, with the ambulatory, the pilgrims could proceed up one choir aisle, pass behind and round the apse, and down the other choir aisle without having to retrace their steps. It was equally convenient for processions, especially the great Sunday Procession, when the monks had to circumambulate the church in order to asperge every altar before the supreme Mass of the week.'

During the first half of the thirteenth century architecture advanced with such rapid strides that the original work, perhaps scarcely a hundred years old, must have seemed rude and clumsy indeed. It was not merely that the round arch had become pointed, that tracery took the place of the plain lancet, and that the short Norman apsidal presbytery had been doubled in length and had been made square. Striking as these changes were, they were unimportant compared with the change which had come over the essential character of the whole fabric. The building had changed from a vast inert mountain of stone to a highly organized and indeed acutely sensitive framework in which every member had its function. The building had now assumed something of a ship-like structure consisting of a light and elaborate skeleton covered with a skin just thick enough to keep out wind and weather.

The Norman wall had been a great precipice without

projections and strong in its sheer massiveness. The column was just a large lump of wall, rounded or angular, built like a wall with a mass of rubble faced with small roughly squared ashlar. The vault was either a barrel vault, a plain, uninterrupted tunnel, or else a groined vault, which is a tunnel divided up into square or oblong bays by cross tunnels. In either case it was constructed after the Roman manner, without ribs, forming a heavy homogeneous mass.

The Gothic vault, on the other hand, is constructed with ribs : *constructed* with ribs, not *ornamented* with ribs. The principles and practice of the Norman and Gothic vaults, not the mere decorative effect, are totally different. The Gothic vault consists in the first place of a skeleton of arched ribs. Some of these cross the building at right angles dividing it up into bays. Each bay is bounded on its two other sides by arched ribs built along the surfaces of the walls, and is crossed diagonally by two more ribs. On these six ribs there is then built light spandrel-filling, as it is called, forming the surface of the vault. Each spandrel or triangular space between two ribs is filled by courses of masonry running from rib to rib. Each course is slightly arched so that it is self-supporting directly it is finished. Now these two—the Romanesque and Gothic—ways of making a vault are typical of the two systems of building throughout.

All through the Middle Ages the vault was the type, as it was the highest achievement, of architecture. Its history is one of absorbing interest down to the very end, when those thin gossamer webs were woven over Henry VII.'s Chapel and that of King's College, Cambridge.

'The most consummate achievement of the masonry of the Middle Ages ; put together with as unerring science and precision as the parts of a steam engine or an astronomical instrument. . . . Truly, if vault construction is the be-all and end of Gothic architecture, it is not with any foreign country, but with England, that the artistic supremacy in mediaeval architecture rests. From first to last—in the vaults of Durham nave, of Lincoln, of Exeter, of the choir of Oxford Cathedral, of Henry VII.'s Chapel at Westminster—we were the envy of less happy lands.'

Gothic architecture, therefore, is a mode of building. So essential is this characteristic that it practically supplies a rough working definition. That mode consists of a system of balanced thrusts and counter thrusts, of pressures gathered together at points; these pressures produce resultants which are met by corresponding concentrations of material in comparatively small masses called buttresses; these buttresses again did not so much by their own dead weight kill the pressures they received as by their form and construction convey those pressures to the ground. A building thus constructed might have had all its arches round, and all its foliage might have been pure classical acanthus, it might have had never a moulding, and it would have been Gothic all the same.

It may be objected that few of our village churches display this elaborate statical system; that they are practically inert, with arches between the nave and aisles, indeed, but without any vaulting, and that many have tie-beam roofs without any thrust at all, and yet they are Gothic: Gothic in their proportions and imagery, in their roofs and towers, in their tracery and painted glass. That is true, but the point we are labouring is not What buildings are Gothic, but What Gothic building is. To get at its essential nature we must study it in its greatest examples.

When once architecture had started on this course of skeleton construction there was nothing for it but to carry the principle to its logical conclusion. The more absolutely this could be done the more perfect, in a sense, was the result. Whether that result was always the most satisfactory aesthetically is another question. But it is at least noteworthy that this system of construction was developed with the greatest perseverance and logical consistency, and was brought to the greatest perfection, by the very people which achieved the grandest results in sculpture and painting, in metal work and enamel. Here and there, indeed, other countries and we ourselves—as in our open timber roofs and, according to Mr. Bond, in our vaults—may surpass France, but viewing the wide field of mediaeval art broadly we must award to her the prize.

Her genius for logic and harmony and her fearlessness in construction went hand in hand, so it seems to us, with a not less supreme mastery of the arts most commonly associated with architecture; she had an instinct for beauty different from, but not inferior to, that of the Greek, and a poetry and fire of imagination which in its material expression surpassed even his.

Every system of construction is bound to affect ornament, and so it was in Gothic architecture. Take the decoration of the arch for example. All along there had been a struggle between two possible methods. Either (a) each separate voussoir or arch stone might be decorated, or (b) continuous mouldings might be carried round the arch. Mr. Ruskin in one of his books is playfully pathetic over the ultimate defeat of the former system by the latter. The carving of each stone did indeed emphasize the construction, and grand is the effect of a Norman doorway or chancel arch of many orders carved with chevron, bird's-beak, and fret. But we may well pause before applying the scheme to the elaborate arched system of Gothic buildings. There are open to the architect quite other paths than the emphasis of construction. He may prefer to lay stress on the *function* of the arch, and he will do this by the use of continuous mouldings just as he gives emphasis to the function of the pier by the vertical lines of its component shafts.

When we speak of logical construction and of taking this or that as a motive of decoration we do not of course mean that we think the mediaeval builder had the faintest glimmering of consciousness of such matters. Even at periods when the artist has been most sophisticated he has generally been unaware of his own motives. He is usually urged by a something which we call instinct. It is said that even Cavendish himself, when asked why he had played a certain card at whist, could give no better reason than 'Because I should have been a fool if I hadn't.' So it is with many a genius, and most emphatically was it so in the early Middle Ages. The folk of those times had, we may safely say, no notion of the principles of art. Here

and there we can see certain simple devices used for obtaining certain broad effects or for counteracting other effects. In Salisbury Cathedral, for example, as our author notes, the numerous vertical lines of the outside are crossed by very strong horizontal bands, one of which was, it would appear, deliberately produced by the peculiar treatment of an offset in every buttress. But generally speaking the builder took the fashion as he found it and made slight variations in it for some practical reason ; or a device had been tried elsewhere and had been found satisfactory or the reverse. His method was empirical. The same process governed even his construction. Though he liked geometry he had no knowledge of the mathematics of pressures.

But we can hardly doubt that, such as it was, the knowledge which the mediaeval builder had of his craft was profound and that his reasoning was acute. An enormous amount of building was always going on, and no doubt there was plenty of discussion and criticism. He was heir to a long line of traditional knowledge which his own experience was constantly amplifying, correcting, and confirming. He must have had, therefore, a sound knowledge, better than any theory, of the way in which arches behave under given conditions, of the effects of weather, and of the nature of his materials. He was generally a local man moreover, with a knowledge of the soil on which he had to lay his foundations and of the stone with which he was to build.

His knowledge of local methods and materials was indeed an invaluable asset of the mediaeval craftsman-architect ; possibly even more precious than his happy ignorance of other materials and methods, fortunate as that was. He was not, like the architect of the present day, embarrassed with a choice of styles from every land and every century, and with the command of materials from the uttermost ends of the earth. From this plethora of knowledge and of resources he was happily free.

Notwithstanding the strong national character by which the whole architecture of the country is pervaded,

it may be separated up into local styles, and divided and subdivided again, just as for civil and religious government the land is divided into provinces, dioceses, counties, hundreds, rural deaneries, and the like. So there is a style of the north and a style of the south, there is the style of a single county or of a group of counties, and there is the style of a little cluster of villages. These peculiarities are to be observed but are not always to be accounted for; their origins are in many cases no more traceable than are the origins of other fashions. The history and the Rule of a religious order influenced its architecture, and in a district where that order was strong its architecture would influence more or less that of the whole country side. In some parts foreign influence is seen. Thus France influenced Scottish taste in architecture just as in a later age she influenced her taste in wine and her use of words; when English tracery was Perpendicular, Scottish was inclined to be Flamboyant; we spoke of a clock and drank port, while north of the Tweed they would say *orledge* and drink claret. So Portia says of her Scottish suitor that though

'he borrowed a box of the ear of the Englishman and swore he would pay him again when he was able: I think the Frenchman became his surety, and sealed under for another.'

But if we take a larger view of architecture, regarding it as covering the whole period of English history and as including all buildings, secular as well as ecclesiastical, then the power which was most potent in creating local peculiarities of style was the local building material. The local material was the parent of the construction and the construction fathered the style.

This subject has been often dealt with, and there are many illustrations so obvious that it is unnecessary to rehearse them here. The excellent stone of the west and midlands brought into being those splendid towers and spires which were impossible in East Anglia. The flints dug from the East Anglian chalk were 'knapped' with extraordinary skill and led to a local system of decoration consisting of patterns or inscriptions of stone on a black

flint background. The differences lie between the east and west rather than between the north and south, because the geological formations take the latter direction. The best early brickwork is found in the east ; domestic timber work was most developed in the woodlands bordering the Welsh marches. But as the outcrop of the strata ran north and south, we find magnificent masonry all the way from Exeter to Durham.

What was the course of procedure when a large church or a considerable part of a cathedral was to be built ? How little we know, how much have we to rely on conjecture ! Who designed the building ? An ecclesiastic, we are sometimes told ; and the name of an ecclesiastic is generally the only name recorded in the old writings. But this must often mean merely that he was the collector or donor of the funds, and the moving spirit of the undertaking. How likely it is that the name to be remembered by the chronicler would generally be the enthusiast, the man of untiring energy, with power to kindle the enthusiasm of others. Such a man is frequently singularly unpractical, and often he must have been without any exceptional artistic genius or any architectural experience or training. To allow that the whole nation was imbued with natural artistic feeling is not to admit that almost anyone could design a great building. The art is far too difficult and far too full of technicalities ever to have been the plaything of dilettanti. Our 'ecclesiastic' then can have given but a verbal or written description of what he wanted, the principal dimensions and general disposition of the parts. We have an example of a building scheme in which the directions of the employer, as we should now call him, are very minute ; exceptionally minute, as we venture to think. King Henry VI. in his first scheme for his foundation of Eton College gave the following directions for building the chapel : The length and width of the choir, and the height to the top of the parapet and the height of the buttresses ; the level to which the ground outside was to be raised and the level of the floor ; he gave the position, length and width of the high altar and directed that the

foundation-stone was to be under it, and that 'the saide first stone be not remoued, touched nor stered in any wise.' The length and width but not the height of 'the body of the same chirch' and of the 'yles' are given; and the length, width and height of the vestry, which is to be divided into two rooms. There is to be a west door and on the south side 'a faire large dore with a porche over the same for christenyng of childre and weddynggs.' The number and height of the steps before the high altar are specified, and they are to be 'of conuenient brede, euery of them as due fourme shall require.' The number of buttresses and windows and the number of lights in the windows are given for the choir, but not for the nave and aisles, nor is it stated whether or no there is to be a clerestory. The number of stalls and the size of the rood-loft are given, and it is directed that they shall be like those in St. Stephen's Chapel in the King's palace at Westminster. The edification is to proceed 'in large fourme,' and is to be 'wel replenysshed with goodely wyndowes and vautes.' King Henry was, it seems, not only keenly interested in the details of his colleges but was a devoted lover of architecture for its own sake, and in the document from which we have quoted (printed by Willis and Clark) he probably goes into detail at least as much as a building bishop or abbot. His plan of taking another building as his model, as he does for his stalls and rood-loft, is met with in other mediaeval documents. But all this is far short of making the design.

The difficulties of accepting the theory of a non-professional designer are not to be got over by supposing that he can have supplied a rough plan as Henry VI. did, and have added thereto an elevation, and then have left it to the trained man to work out the constructional and other problems. The very essence of Gothic architecture is that the construction and the art are closely bound up together, that the construction is artistic and the decoration is constructional.

We are told that there were no architects. That is doubtless true, as we think of architects nowadays. But there must have been some one—an individual for whom

we have no name—who made a careful design. There is nothing haphazard about Durham. So call him master-builder or what you will, there must have been a master-mind, one which could see ahead. Sir Gilbert Scott calls him architect plainly, and the word is probably as accurate as any other. Of course he was not a builder in the modern sense, any more than he was an architect in the modern sense. He did not enter into a contract and he was in no way responsible for finance, for the employer bought his own materials and paid the men their wages. Wilars de Honecort, a Frenchman, who lived in the middle of the thirteenth century, left a sketch book or commonplace book in which he sketches miscellaneous objects, and adds descriptions and explanations such as an architect might record to-day, and it is difficult to find a title which suits him better than that of 'architect.' He sketches any architecture which he particularly admires, including both plans and perspective ; he includes one of his own buildings ; he sketches sculpture and mechanical contrivances, and draws birds, beasts, and insects beautifully ; he shews some of his own inventions including, of course, a 'perpetual motion ;' he notes construction in timber and geometry as applied to masonry, and he makes studies from the life including both the nude and draped figure. He appears to have been the designer of the choir of the cathedral of Cambrai, near his native place, and to have journeyed professionally so far as Hungary.

Such a man as Wilars de Honecort no doubt lived for a time on the work upon which he was engaged and superintended it in detail. A man of repute such as he must have been would be lent from time to time to other employers who required his services, or he might be enticed away altogether. We know that in England the King did not hesitate to demand the attendance of skilled workmen when he required them, although they might at the time be engaged on other work. A master-builder could stand on his dignity too, and when the annual new coat which formed a part of his stipend was late in arriving, he could return it with a sarcastic message.

The chief craftsman, then (for surely the first law of Gothic art is that designer and craftsman were one), having arrived with his assistant, must, after due conference with prior and sacrist, set about his drawings. Here again we are using a word with which we associate definite modern ideas and are applying it to long-ago days and a different order of things. What are drawings for? Nowadays we make elaborately finished and carefully coloured drawings for two reasons. Firstly, we hope that by making them look pretty the employer will be attracted and perhaps deluded into thinking that they give him some idea of what the building will look like; secondly, building as we do by contract it is necessary to shew the builder beforehand exactly what is expected of him. But if there is no contract, if the employer is going to pay for each cartload as it arrives and to give each man his wages every Saturday, and if he has not learned to think that he understands plans, and if the designer is going to live on the spot and actually 'set out' the work as a foreman does now: why, then, drawings may be very different things—mere diagrams we should call them, looking rather like unfinished figures in Euclid. Probably something better is submitted to the employer, something on vellum, a plan and a sort of perspective—that is, a drawing shewing two sides of the building, or even three for that matter, without a too nice regard for vanishing points. It is possible also that models were shewn to the client. They are often mentioned in old accounts, but what they actually were is doubtful. Certainly the word is sometimes used for a drawing.

When we mean to build,
We first survey the plot, then draw the model;
And when we see the figure of the house,
Then must we rate the cost of the erection;
Which if we find outweighs ability,
What do we then but draw anew the model
In fewer offices, or at least desist
To build at all?

So says the Lord Bardolph in *King Henry IV*.

But whatever the preliminary sketches are like, our master-builder's working drawings, even more diagrammatic still perhaps, must be accurate in the extreme. He must know exactly at what level his vaulting ribs are to spring and exactly what curve each one is to take; a stone weathering has to be built into a wall many months before the roof which is to fit close under it can be begun. He cannot cut window tracery without first drawing it out full size; the drawing for the east window of Gloucester Cathedral must have been forty feet square.

Having surveyed the plot and drawn the model our builder sets out the plan on the ground with the main axis running east and west. This direction he appears to have taken as accurately as circumstances would allow. There is, it is true, a theory that the building faced the point at which the sun appeared on the day when it was begun. But this can scarcely have been a rule. Many buildings must surely have been begun near midsummer when the sun rises about north-east, but very few churches have their axis in that direction. Another theory is that the axis lay towards the point of sunrise on the feast of the patron saint. But if so, the churches dedicated to St. Peter should face north-east, and those dedicated to St. Paul should face south-east; but as a matter of fact they do not. Westminster Abbey, it may be noted, is dedicated to both St. Peter and St. Paul, and the east end faces a very little south of due magnetic east. In truth both theories are mere fancies.

Of the actual building operations our knowledge is rather greater—or perhaps we should say, our ignorance is less—than of the preliminaries, of the authorship of the design and of the organization and devolution of responsibility among the workmen; for we still have the buildings before us. They tell us much, and were it not for centuries of neglect and a century of over-restoration, they would tell us an infinite deal more. They must be studied, too, with much more labour and method and thought than is usual. Very often, for example, masons' marks are collected and recorded in an unintelligent manner which

makes the labour to a large extent labour lost. There is no use in making such a collection unless the position of each mark is recorded with some exactness. Then, if the marks in a single building are numerous, each man's handiwork could be traced, the periods at which he was 'taken on' and discharged could be determined, the number of masons employed might perhaps be told, and possibly some idea of organization could be suggested.

The system of scaffolding, again, may be read on the face of the wall. The put-log holes are still visible in very many churches and may tell us something of their history. Are they at the same level all round the building, for example, or do those of the chancel appear to form a different system from those of the nave? The kind of stone used in different parts, the different sorts of 'tooling' which they bear, the jointing, the quality of the mortar and so forth may tell us as much as the mouldings and tracery.

Building works are shewn in some illuminated manuscripts. It is generally not difficult to make allowance for the peculiar mannerisms of the mediaeval draughtsman, and when this has been done much is to be learned from them. Masons are seen dressing stones with the axe and with the chisel, others (setters) are on the top of the building fixing the stones in position; this they do with the help of a level to which a vertical arm and plumb-bob is attached. Some men are mixing mortar, others are daubing the building with it. Materials are being hoisted with a windlass, and many other operations are shewn with a transparent simplicity which compels belief in the accuracy of the picture.

The work was probably very often stopped for the winter and covered up with sedge to protect it from frost and snow. Shelters were certainly made, though they may sometimes have been of such a form as to allow the 'setters' or stone-layers to work under them. Thus we read in an old account :

'Robert de Thorney, for two thousand of lath nails to cover with laths the pent house over the gable to preserve it from

the wind and rain for the winter at 10*d.* a thousand, 1*s.* 8*d.* Michael le Disshere, for one hundred and an half of beams of alder to make the said pent house over the said gable, at 2*d.* each, 1*l.* 5*s.* Robert Mancel, for one thousand of beech laths for the said pent house, and to mend other defects, at 2*½d.* an hundred, 2*s.* 1*d.* Nicholas Jouri, for three hundred reeds to cover the pent house over the gable, at 10*d.* an hundred, 2*s.* 6*d.*

During the winter months the men might be employed in shaping stone and turning marble columns, or the carpenters in beginning to prepare the roof timbers or may be making the centering on which the vault is to be built; thus a clerk-of-works accounts for 'timber lying in the long stable, ready prepared, for the upper vault of the said chapel, which cannot be particularised on account of the multitude of pieces and the expense which would be incurred if it were removed.' The accountant, it must be remembered, kept his accounts in Latin, not always of the purest, as, for example: 'In le turning xxx bases pro columpnis in le parclos, ijs.'

Accounts are sometimes disappointing in their vagueness; they describe the operations from the accountant's point of view rather than from the architect's. But if we sometimes fail to identify the entries with the work as we see it, we can learn much as to prices of materials and rates of wages, and so forth. We find a master mason and a master carpenter in the reign of Edward III. receiving a shilling a day, which is very good pay considering the value of money at that time. The best glass painters got about the same. Common masons and carpenters were paid less than half that amount, and labourers of course less still. In addition to their wages some of their tools and materials were provided for the workmen, as squirrels' tails and peacocks' and swans' feathers and hogs' bristles for the painters' brushes, and some at least of their food was found in some cases; there are charges for these in old accounts, and Chaucer, in one of his Tales, says that the workmen were given 'mete and wages.'

At Westminster Abbey there prevailed a curious custom, first noticed by the late Professor Willis. At the head of

each weekly account are given the saints' days which fall in that week. The alternate feasts are said to belong to the King, Henry III., who was the employer, and the other feasts to the masons. Professor Willis concludes 'that the feast days thus assigned to the masons were kept as a holiday, and that they worked on the feasts assigned to the King.' Whitsun week was also kept as a holiday. The roll from which this information is obtained covers a period of thirty-two weeks. It contains besides Whitsuntide twenty-one feasts, ten of which belonged to the masons and eleven to the King. Account rolls also tell us something of technical processes. We read of colours and white lead, red lead and oil bought for painting, so that oil painting was used even in the fourteenth century. 'Leaves of tin for pryntes' are mentioned, which must surely mean stencil-plates; and one thousand leaves of gold, 2*l.* Three hundred leaves of silver, and verdigris and vermillion are bought 'for the painting of a certain window to counterfeit glass.'

The church being finished, it only remained to make arrangements for its consecration. The chief thing which the builder had to attend to was the making of the crosses which the bishop was to anoint with holy oil. These crosses, twenty-four in number, he carved or painted on the walls, twelve inside and twelve outside. Many of these crosses are still to be seen, especially inside our churches. Most of the outside crosses have disappeared, so we may presume that they were usually painted. Sometimes we find small holes in the stone work in groups of four or six, shewing that the crosses had been of metal attached by pins. They are, or should be, according to the rubric, enclosed in a circle about seven and a half feet from the ground. When the bishop arrived a procession was made round the church, and the crosses were marked with the consecrated oil. We have a contemporary picture of such a procession. First come several persons presumably in minor orders, one of them bearing a tall cross. Then follow two others with the tonsure, carrying a long roll which appears to be covered with words and musical

notation from which they sing. Next comes the bearer of the bishop's crozier, and then the bishop himself. He carries a sprinkle which he is dipping into a tub which stands on the ground; more commonly, however, a small holy water vat must have been carried by an attendant. After the bishop follow the laity, telling their beads. On the roof is seen the devil preparing for flight. When the circuit has been completed the procession will enter the church and make a tour round the interior, and the bishop will anoint the inside crosses in like manner.

Such, then, as they appear to us are some of the salient points in the history of church building, and such, as we conjecture, were some of the steps in the building of a church. The people were filled with the lust for building and delighted to have things beautiful; they developed with extraordinary energy and rapidity every art; they conquered in every field. The advance was made along many lines, each presenting its peculiar obstacles. In architecture the chief obstacle was construction; the greatest triumph was good building. The masons and carpenters formed the main body of the great army of mediaeval craftsmen, but of them, of their organization, of their division of responsibility, we are tantalizingly ignorant. That they and they only were, through their leaders, the true inventors of the works they produced, we hold to be incontrovertible. That they should travel from place to place as required was inevitable; that the area to which individuals or gilds confined themselves was, as a rule, comparatively small seems to be clear from the innumerable local variations of the general style.

The aspect of mediaeval architecture changes as we study it. Much have we yet to learn, much, no doubt, to unlearn about those dim, far-off days. As we peer into the darkness the mist slowly lifts and things begin to appear in their just proportions. Some of the glamour of dawn fades, but on the ruins of those great times there falls a clearer light.

ART. VII.—THE ASSUAN PAPYRI.

Aramaic Papyri discovered at Assuan. Edited by A. H. SAYCE, with the assistance of A. E. COWLEY; and with Appendices by W. SPIEGELBERG and SEYMOUR DE RICCI. (London: Alexander Moring, Ltd. 1906.)

I.

‘EPOCH-MAKING’ is a term so impressive and so complimentary that since it came to be freely applied to theories, ideas, discoveries, and the books relating thereto, the number of epochs in recent history has become very considerable. We need to practise economy in the use of the term, or else to employ another one. ‘Epoch-marking’ would not seldom strike the right note. A fresh fact comes to light further enlarging knowledge already gained: this *marks*, not *makes* an epoch. But some discoveries do both. These Assuan papyri mark significantly an epoch already made by the discovery and the deciphering of Semitic records. But they make an epoch, too. Here we have, written in Aramaic, legal documents, fully dated, relating to the family affairs of members of the Jewish colony in Upper Egypt in the fifth century before Christ. They are our first authentic source of information as to the immediate successors of those Jews who on the fall of Jerusalem, early in the sixth century B.C., fled to Egypt, carrying with them the prophet Jeremiah.¹ And, as Professor Sayce puts it,

‘A fresh light is thrown by them on the history and character of the Aramaic language as it was spoken and written in the western provinces of the Persian Empire in the fifth century B.C., new words and meanings are added to the Aramaic dictionary, and new forms or idioms to Aramaic grammar;’

though it seems a somewhat excessive claim for these particular papyri that in them ‘the origin of Biblical Chaldee is at length explained to us’ (p. 10).

¹ *Jer. xlivi. 4-6.*

The papyri were found at Assuan in the springtime of 1904. Whence precisely they emerged from the dust of the centuries cannot, unfortunately, be stated¹; but whither they went may, happily, soon be set forth. Mr. Robert Mond, the Honorary Secretary of the Davy-Faraday Research Laboratory of the Royal Institution, acquired those numbered C, D, F, H, J, and part G, and presented them to the Cairo Museum. B, E, K, and the other part of G were purchased by Lady William Cecil. A was secured by the Bodleian Library. It is by the munificence of Mr. Mond that the fruits of the discovery have been published in a manner worthy of their importance. The edition includes the ten papyri now first brought to light: these are numbered A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, J, K. Then comes L, already known since 1903, when Mr. A. E. Cowley published it in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*; and it is appropriately reprinted now, since it clearly belongs to the same series as A to K. This is followed by M, N, O, P, Q—five bits of inscriptions from fragments of pottery apparently belonging to the same group of documents as the papyri. They are reprinted from the same source as L. All are with L in the Bodleian, except P, which is in the Berlin Museum. Lastly two texts often referred to by Mr. Cowley in his discussion of the papyri are usefully added: one is the important Strasburg papyrus, the other is a brief fragment from the *Répertoire d'Épigraphie Sémitique*.

The general editor is Professor Sayce, who contributes an interesting Introduction. Professor Spiegelberg explains the Egyptian names occurring in the papyri; and Mr. Seymour de Ricci gives a useful bibliography of Egyptian Aramaic papyri. For the decipherment of the papyri, their transliteration into the ordinary square character, for a complete glossary of the words they contain, with a masterly commentary and a translation into English, we are indebted to Mr. Cowley, who has undoubtedly enhanced his assured reputation as a Semitic scholar by this splendid piece of work.

The edition is handsome. Twenty-seven fine photo-

¹ *Vide infra*, p. 383.

graphs will interest every student, and will help any inquirer towards a real insight into Aramaic palaeography. Perhaps it is to be regretted that the size of the accompanying commentary is so large. We should like to see it issued separately, with measurements much less than a length of one foot seven inches and a breadth of one foot two inches, that so he may recline who readeth : as to the type used, he may run that readeth ; the book is printed beautifully.

II.

Assuan, whose fortune of late years has been on the up-grade, is a place of great antiquity. Its position on the eastern bank of the Nile, near the first cataract, gave it prominence as a frontier town ; and the extensive quarries supplied the granite for monuments and other buildings in every part of Egypt. The essentials of the name Assuan, properly Aswan, are the letters SWN. This would represent the Egyptian name, and it appears thus in these papyri. The derivation is unknown. A fuller treatment of the word than the couple of lines devoted to it by Professor Spiegelberg (p. 24) would have been useful. The Greek name was Syene. It is interesting to find Assuan in the Bible : Ezekiel alludes to it at least twice as Sweneh ; but it seems probable that the true pointing should be Swenah or Swanah,¹ in which case the rendering of Ezek. xxix. 10 would be : [I will make . . . Egypt . . . desolation] 'from Migdol [a N.-E. frontier town] to Swan, even to the border of Kush' (i.e. the southern frontier). A similar reference to the place as a frontier limit occurs in Ezek. xxx. 6, and Migdol is more naturally taken as a proper name, not as 'fortress,' in both passages. (Cf. R.V. margin.)

Some scholars² would see a reference to Assuan also in Ezek. xxx. 15, 16. The textual emendation required is minute. Another reference, still more probable perhaps, may not be welcomed by those who have at missionary meetings appropriately urged the claims of China by the

¹ So J. D. Michaelis and others. See the *Oxford Hebrew Lexicon* s.v. The word would thus be SWN with *H locale* added.

² Cornill, also Toy. *Oxford Lex.* s.v.

quotation of Is. xlix. 12: 'Lo, these shall come from far . . . and these from the land of Sinim.' But it is extremely unlikely that the writer of those words had ever heard of China, while the Swenim or Swanim would be well known as the inhabitants of a frontier town, and would be suitably mentioned in the prophet's anticipations. Whatever view is taken as to these textual alterations, the two indisputable allusions to Assuan in Ezekiel should lend additional interest to the discovery of documents written by men of Ezekiel's race and religion in the distant land of their adoption.

The papyri were discovered, it would seem, 'by the workmen employed in making the new road which runs from the railway station at the southern end of Assuan to the English Church and Cataract Hotel on the top of the hill.' But another account was that they had been found in the island of Elephantine just opposite Assuan. This discrepancy, as it so happens, is picturesque and appropriate. For several of the papyri were written, and legally attested, at Assuan; but the property dealt with in them—they are deeds of quittance, conveyance, etc.—was situate in Elephantine. The Egyptian name for this important island city was Yeb or Yebh—an identification the credit of which belongs to M. Clermont-Ganneau. The word means Elephant, hence the Greek name. But it is always mentioned in these papyri as Yeb.¹ Of the two places Elephantine appears to have been by far the more important, as the capital of the first Nome of Upper Egypt. Its antiquity is immense. The royal tombs there date back to the sixth dynasty. But the assumption in Hastings' *Dictionary* that Assuan was merely a 'mainland suburb' of the island-city, and the conjecture in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* that it was only a 'landing stage for quarries,' do not seem justified—as regards at any rate the period we are concerned with—by the evidence in these papyri. Yeb is here the 'Fortress' in B, D, H, J, K. But Assuan is precisely so described in B, C, D, F. The two places were clearly twin fortresses.

¹ It was at first thought to be the Syriac for 'aqueduct.' See *Répertoire d'Epigraphie Sémitique*, i. pp. 293, 296, 385, 387.

The term for fortress used in these papyri is *birta*, which occurs in Ezra vi. 2 (E.V. 'palace'), and in one or two places in the *Répertoire*. The late Biblical *birah* is the Hebraized form of this word, which ultimately is probably Assyrian. Its use raises incidentally a question of some interest: What is the derivation of the name of the famous citadel in ancient Carthage? The Byrsa was naturally associated with the Greek word for 'a hide'; and the picturesque story of Dido and the purchase of an ox-hide, which that astute lady cut into strips, is alluded to by Vergil:¹

' Mercatique solum, facti de nomine Byrsam,
Taurino quantum possent circumdare tergo.'

It has been usual to ascribe the origin of the name to a whittled-down form of Bosrah. But the occurrence, a dozen times, of *Birta*² or *Birtha*, in Aramaic, suggests that further to the west, in a wholly Semitic city like Carthage, the term would be as familiar as Bosrah. But the connexion of Byrsa and Birtha seems closer still when the actual pronunciation of the word is considered. How is it that modern Jews, in North-Western Europe at all events, consistently pronounce *Taw* as if it were *Sin*? Whatever may be the origin of this curious use, which is parallel to the softening of K to C=S or the change of T into C in the mediaeval pronunciation of Latin, a Russian Jew to-day would pronounce Birta precisely as a Greek says Byrsa. A distinguished authority, to whom the question was submitted, tells us that it is some objection to this that Phoenician goes with Hebrew, and does not use the emphatic state in which Birta occurs here, or put s for t. In view of this difficulty we might perhaps be justified in assuming that Aramaisms might occur in Phoenician (the literary survivals of which language are extremely scanty), as well as in Hebrew: at all events, we venture to point out what is at least a coincidence, and to suggest that future commentators on Vergil, *Aen.* I., or the story of Carthage, might find the point worthy of elucidation.³

¹ *Aeneid*, I. 367, 368.

² So Baer prints it.

³ A scholar whom we have consulted would 'be inclined to explain

III.

One delightful fact about these papyri is that they are dated ; doubly dated in fact, for the months are given in their Syrian and Egyptian nomenclature. The editors have considerably left something for other investigators here. We must look to some astronomer for help in co-ordinating these months ; and then we may expect to fix the precise day in each date. But the year matters most ; and there is only a doubt here and there as to a unit. Any-one proposing to begin Aramaic might do well to tackle the numeration sign-system first. It is simple enough, recalling pleasantly one's early slates and pencils. You lay a pot-hook gently on its side, and lo, you have written the sign for 'ten.' A more elaborated device stands for 'twenty.' The numbers below ten and twenty are indicated by straight vertical strokes arranged in groups of three. But a complication occurs from the presence of a stroke not vertical but leaning to the left. In some cases it appears to be a stop ; in others a numeral. Only in five instances does this affect the interpretation of the year, and then only by a unit. The matter may be cleared up in some further discovery of inscriptions or documents. An account-book written only a century ago already seems strange when it gives £5 as £5.00.00 ; and if it be investigated a couple of millennia from now may give some trouble. The papyri cover the period B.C. 471 to 411. When Machseyah in A gives permission to Qoniyyah to build in a gateway belonging to the former, Xerxes is reigning as King of Persia. Egypt is subject to him ; but the vast empire is no longer in the state Darius Hystaspes left it. It is the ninth year after that fateful campaign when

‘A king sat on the lofty brow
That looks o'er sea-girt Salamis,
And ships in thousands lay below.

Within a short time from the transaction in K, when Machseyah's grandsons settle the ownership of certain both Y and S in Byrsa—and perhaps A as well—by the classical writers' desire to derive the name from the Greek term similar to it.¹

slaves, Egypt, previously in revolt, is entirely lost to Persia, and has regained independence. Between these two documents there is a period of sixty years, covering the last six or seven years of Xerxes, the whole reign of Artaxerxes the Longhand, B.C. 465-425, and thirteen years of the reign of Darius Nothus.

Away in Palestine events of momentous importance for Judaism are taking place. When Mibhtachyah has been for about a twelvemonth the owner of the little house given her as a marriage settlement by her father in Elephantine, Ezra the Scribe has left Babylon and commenced his work in Jerusalem. The same lady has become the possessor of another property in the island-city when Nehemiah is appointed governor of Judaea. She has been left a widow but has married again by the time of Nehemiah's second mission to Jerusalem and the writing of Malachi's prophecy.

In distant Rome they are hammering together, slowly but surely, a great constitutional system, with heroic intervals of wars with their neighbours. Cincinnatus farms his land and fights the foe, and so—home to the farm again.

Down in the south of Italy, Greek philosophy has taken root. The Eleatic Parmenides expounds and extends the doctrine of Xenophanes. In Greece itself the home of philosophy, these 60 years almost coincide with the life of Socrates. The birth of Xenophon comes between the dates of papyri E and F, that of Plato between G and H.

One of the most interesting persons of the time is Herodotus, who was a boy of twelve or thirteen at Halicarnassus when Papyrus A was written at Assuan. He early became an inveterate traveller; and we are unwilling without cogent reason to part with the belief that he visited both Assuan and Elephantine during his stay in Egypt. He explicitly states that he went up the Nile as far as Elephantine,¹ and if so he would almost certainly 'do' Assuan at the same time. He evidently does not regard as very reliable the surprising information supplied to him at Sais² about the 'mountains between Syene and Elephantine,'

¹ Bk. II. xxix.

² Bk. II. xxviii.

which enclosed the sources of the Nile ! But even if he did, Herodotus was as enthusiastic a sightseer as an American globe-trotter of to-day ; and an American without the aid of photographs or maps would undoubtedly give some remarkable accounts of places he had 'done' in the course of an extended tour. At all events we must be pardoned for cherishing the memory of Herodotus not as merely an entertaining gossip who could 'spin yarns' with conviction and grace, but as the Father of History still. It is tempting to think of him walking past the little estates with which these papyri are concerned, and crossing over to Assuan in a boat belonging to Espemet son of Peft'onit.

Such synchronisms suggest material for a readable historical novel based on these papyri. The allusions already made to a lady named Mibhtachyah shew that the documents form a connected series. In the earliest of them she is too young, apparently, to appear as a witness. Later on we see her married, and then re-married, and lastly we meet her grown-up sons. We have particulars as to her marriage settlements, measurements of her dress lengths, and details suggesting an attention to her personal appearance. This Jewess, who lived 2,400 years ago, has now won lasting fame.

Failing a good novel, some Semitic scholar with an interest in Egyptology, might find it an agreeable and profitable task to do for Aramaic and its allied languages and dialects and the people who used them in the fifth century B.C. what Bekker has done so usefully for classical antiquities. *Mibhtachyah* might take a position along with *Gallus* and *Charicles*.

IV

The Jewish community to which Mibhtachyah belonged may well have had its origin in the time of Jeremiah ; for Upper Egypt, the Thebaid, is the Pathros or Pteres to whose Hebrew inhabitants the Prophet delivered his message¹ ; and the papyri convey the impression that the community had been settled there some time. However

¹ Jer. xliv. 1.

that may be, this Assuan discovery throws light upon the social and religious condition of the Jews in Egypt in the fifth century B.C. It is only possible within the limits of this article to notice a few of the more striking points thus brought to view.

(i) The documents are written in Aramaic, as would be expected. Some of us learned in our boyhood that the Exile destroyed Hebrew as a spoken language. The exiles marched to Babylon bewailing their misfortunes in the Hebrew of the Bible, and their children marched back to Jerusalem congratulating themselves in Aramaic. That is, they had learned Aramaic at Babylon and had forgotten their own language, which had to be translated to them by Ezra on their return: hence the rise of the Targums.¹ But the change of one language for another is only accomplished very gradually. That the Jews spoke Hebrew after the return from Babylon is clear from the fact that Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi prophesied in that tongue. Aramaic, however, was the language in use round about; moreover, the Babylonian variety of the language had been heard every day in the land of exile; and, since it was officially recognized by the Persian Government, there would be every encouragement to use it in preference to Hebrew.² It was somewhat a case of 'reversion to type'; for Abraham's ancestors spoke Aramaic, that being the language of the Mesopotamian and Syrian region from very ancient times. The disuse of Hebrew was in some senses most deplorable. But the change was inevitable, and there are compensations. Hebrew was beginning to be specially regarded as a sacred language within a very short time from the Exile. Its limitation to the home, the synagogue, the study, has reacted usefully on the preservation of the text of the Scriptures and has probably helped to deepen a sense of their unique value as a revelation of the Divine will. At the same time, Aramaic has left its mark on the Bible. The later books of the Canon shew a more

¹ Neh. viii. 8.

² Cf. Driver, *Introd. O.T.*, 1891, p. 471, and references to Nöldeke and Wright there given.

or less striking departure from the classical Hebrew of the ninth and eighth centuries B.C., and exhibit Aramaisms of vocabulary and construction ; until at length considerable sections of Ezra and Daniel appear in Aramaic, not Hebrew. Another century or two and Greek was destined to effect yet a further change ; and by the time of the Christian era we find Aramaic and Greek standing in much the same relation to each other in Galilee and Judaea as Welsh and English in Glamorgan or Carnarvon to-day. But this was not yet. What was afterwards characteristic of Greek was characteristic of Aramaic in the fifth century B.C. You could transact business and plead in the law courts in Aramaic throughout the length and breadth of the Persian realm. And thus it is natural to find varying dialects of this officially recognized language.

Of Egyptian Aramaic there has been hitherto very little known. These Assuan papyri have thrown considerable light on the matter ; and it is reasonable to hope for more discoveries which will further extend our knowledge. What will specially interest Biblical students is the relation the papyri bear to the Aramaic portions of the Scriptures. In his admirable sketch of the language of the texts Mr. Cowley mentions some links with Ezra and Daniel ; and it is very satisfactory to find that the slight delay in the completion of the new 'Oxford Lexicon' has made it possible to include references to these papyri in the Aramaic appendix to that noble volume. The differences between the language of Ezra and Daniel and that of the texts 'are due, no doubt,' says Mr. Cowley, 'partly to the difference of locality, partly also perhaps to the popular style of the deeds as compared with the literary character of Biblical Aramaic.'

There are several Hebraisms,¹ in regard to which Mr. Cowley says :—

'The number of Jewish settlers in Syene and Elephantine must have been large, and their peculiarities of idiom have

¹ E.g. *lagach*, to take ; *'ish*, man ; *'edhah*, congregation. They do not occur in Biblical Aramaic. There is also a verb with a Hebrew Niph'al, *nishchat*, and the unmistakeably Hebrew idiom *lemor = dicendo*.

become a characteristic part of Egyptian Aramaic (at least so far as we know it), distinguishing it from other Aramaic dialects, very much as mediæval Jewish Arabic is distinguished from the classical language. Probably, if we had texts in Egyptian Aramaic which were not of Jewish origin, we should find them free from Hebraisms. It is, however, unsafe, considering how little early Aramaic we possess, to assume that the use of particular words is due to Hebrew influence, because they do not appear in the later texts.¹

In this connexion we must not omit a reference to a passage in the Old Testament presenting an interesting point of contact with the papyri. The eleventh verse of Jeremiah c. x. is in Aramaic, not Hebrew. Dr. Driver thinks it may have been a quotation from some Aramaic work inserted as an illustrative marginal note by a reader; and by subsequent transcribers incorporated into the text.² An attractive though less likely hypothesis perhaps is that the prophet himself deliberately wrote in Aramaic here in order to furnish the exiles with a form of reply to use when invited to join in idolatrous worship. However this may be, the verse exhibits 'certain peculiarities showing that its author must have spoken a particular Aramaic dialect.'³ One word, *earth*, appears spelled in two different ways.⁴ *And those identical spellings occur side by side in these papyri.*⁵ If the verse in Jeremiah be not original, it is tempting to conjecture that it may have been inserted by some devout member of the Jewish colony in Egypt.

Of the words not met with, so far, outside these documents, some are fairly clear⁶ from their contexts, or in

¹ P. 20.

² *Introd. O.T.*, p. 240 ed. vi., or vii. p. 255. The verse interrupts the sequence of the Hebrew.

³ Driver, *l.c.*

⁴ נָמָרָא and נָמָרָא.

⁵ B 15, 16. See Driver, *Book of the Prophet Jeremiah* (Hodder and Stoughton, December 1906).

⁶ We learn, *e.g.*, that נְכָתָה = *iste*, being 'apparently strengthened from נְכָתָה by attaching the demonstrative suffix נְכָתָה' (p. 17). נְכָתָה = *ipse*, from נְכָתָה + אֵת as נְכָתָה from נְכָתָה in Daniel (p. 38, C 2). The נְכָתָה just mentioned appears to be like the נְכָתָה in Gen. iii. 1: *Num dixit?*

'Is it really the case that—?' (p. 36, A 8).

other ways ; others are less certain.¹ We venture to think that the word rendered 'wall' in A 4 would be more likely to mean 'annex' or a 'lean-to.' It is taken as 'wall' because it extends from Qoniyyah's house to that of Zekharyah, thus being too long for a mastaba or something of that kind. But is this difficulty insuperable ? Mibhtachyah's new house is only about one and a half times the length of her 'new garment of wool.'² These Egyptian houses were quite small. Our chief reason, however, for preferring 'annex' to 'wall' is that the verb rendered 'adjoin'—('this brick wall shall adjoin the side of my house')—is *dabhaq*. In Hebrew this word always implies *adhesion*. And that is its force in the only passage in Biblical Aramaic where it occurs :—'They shall not cleave one to another' (Dan. ii. 43). A scholar consulted upon this matter points out that a wall may 'cleave' to another wall by *its end*, but strengthens our contention as to the meaning by the note that 'the word is used in D 6 and J 5, 8, of *houses* adjoining *houses* and in no other connexion in these papyri.' The word rendered 'tattoo'³ in K 4 presents considerable difficulty, as the term and its connexions are obscure. If connected with the Assyrian *shamu*, 'to dye,' would not the rendering 'tattoo' be confirmed by a reference to the Hebrew *shani*, 'scarlet'? This word occurs more than forty times in the Old Testament and must come from a root like *shana*. It would thus indicate the result of the

¹ יָשַׁע is conjectured, from the Arabic, to mean 'maid' as applied to Mibhtachyah at her marriage (p. 40). אַתְּרָה can only be guessed at. But the supposition that it means 'fire-temple,' from its apparent connexion with a word in Persian and Zend, seems to derive some slight support from the occurrence of the Persian 'Chorasmian' just before (p. 37, B 2).

² Cf. p. 39, D 4 with p. 43, G 8. From the note on the latter passage we learn that an Egyptian lady nowadays will wear under her *habara* a garment three yards in length. These modern dimensions are meagre by the side of the ancient. Professor Petrie discovered a Fifth Dynasty garment with the prodigious length of thirty feet two inches. Pieces of fine linen of similarly ample dimensions, 'with fringes and the name of the owner marked in black ink at the corner' have been found, dating from the Tenth Dynasty.

³ שְׁנִיתָה, שְׁנִיתָ.

process, colouring (whether with scarlet or other hue), rather than the antecedent tattooing process. Failing this explanation, would it be unreasonable to regard it as one of the Hebraisms of the texts, and to connect the word with *shahah*, to 'duplicate' or 'repeat'? The word occurs about a dozen times in the Old Testament.¹ This would go far to explain the allusion apparently made to a *previous* tattooing of the slaves by Mibhtachyah; and in that case Machseyah would state that he had duplicated the mark already made by his mother upon Petosiris and Belo. But it is, of course, useless to indulge in these conjectures without more facts to go upon. The nature of the mark tattooed raises a further difficulty. The two slaves are both branded on the right hand with a Yod, which is described in the deed as being 'in Aramaic writing like Mibhtachyah's.' That this letter of the alphabet is so named in the fifth century B.C. is noteworthy. But why a Yod? It is natural in the case of Petosiris who becomes the property of Yedhoniyyah and thus bears on him the initial letter of his owner's name. But Belo also is tattooed with a Yod, although he belongs to Machseyah. Could the mark be the initial of the Divine Name, indicating that the slave belonged to a Jew? Or the initial of *Yhudhi*, Jew? There may have been some regulation in force as to the marking of slaves; but in the absence of any evidence about it the matter must be left in uncertainty.

The writing on the papyri is in a 'professional scribal hand,' and like that of papyri in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, vol. ii. Students of Hebrew, as well as palaeographers especially, will be interested in observing the development 'from the form found in the lapidary inscriptions towards that of the ordinary "square" character.' Lines which are straight in inscriptions are curved in the papyri; and there is 'an almost cursive tendency sometimes to run the letters together.' The difficulties

¹ In the *Hebraist's Vade Mecum* (why have the publishers changed such a good title into *Handy Hebrew Concordance*?) *shahah* to change, *shahah* to repeat, are both put as one word. They are two separate words (see *Oxford Lexicon*) as appears clearly in the Aramaic, the former being *shnah*, the latter *tna*.

in decipherment, apart from crease or fraying of the writing material, rise chiefly from the letters d, r, and w. Happily, to an expert like Mr. Cowley the words are generally pretty clear, except in the signatures of the witnesses to the various documents; these witnesses are numerous, and represent almost as many nationalities as one can number on the Galata Bridge at Constantinople. Perhaps in no part of this decipherment have Mr. Cowley's skill and ingenuity been shewn to better advantage.

(ii) The Jewish residents in Elephantine and Assuan may not have been numerous, but their position in the community was by no means inconsiderable. They had their own place of worship; and litigation could be carried on before a 'tribunal of the Hebrews.' The latter was perhaps intended for other Semites as well; and the name 'Hebrews' would thus be used, in its literal and its ancient sense, for those who were 'beyond' the Euphrates. But the law administered at this court was apparently that observed throughout the Persian empire generally; and one of the litigants appearing before it is clearly not a Semite.¹

The Jews owned house property and slaves; and their abilities were already in this fifth century B.C. applied to finance, for we find them lending money at rates of interest distinctly advantageous to themselves.² They were also eligible for positions under the local government; Mibhtachyah's father alluded in E to his having held the post of 'Handiz in the citadel.' The word 'Handiz' is Persian, and is considered to mean 'water-measurer,' *i.e.* chief turncock.³

But fully accredited citizens they were not. This is shewn, Professor Sayce points out, by the

'curious phrase *l'regel*, found for the first time in these documents. It is always followed by a name which is invariably Persian, except in one instance, where it is Babylonian, and

¹ F 3 note. Cf. *Introd.* p. 11 *ad fin.* and 12.

² At the lowest computation 12½ per cent.; at the highest 60 per cent. See L 3, note; and the full discussion as to the coins mentioned in the papyri given in *Introd.* pp. 21-23.

³ E 4.

which we may therefore conclude denotes some Persian official. The phrase literally means "attached to the foot," "in the following of," so suggests that the persons thus described were in a position similar to that of the clients at Rome.¹

Mr. Cowley cites Exodus xi. 8 as illustrative: (all the people) 'who follow thee';² but thinks that the word may possibly be *degel*, not *regel*, i.e. 'company' not 'foot-following.'³ In any case the term 'would seem to have acquired in time another sense,' continues Professor Sayce in the passage just quoted,

'and to have come to signify, not clientship, but residence in a particular quarter of a town. . . . To have belonged to a *regel*, therefore, may have meant not only that the alien held property in a particular "quarter," which had to be named for the purposes of registration and taxation, but also that he had a right to the protection of the representative of the quarter from which it derived its name.'

As to the whereabouts, in the *regel*, of the houses referred to in these deeds, we have explicit statements. Neighbouring houses, an intersecting street, household frontier lines on east, west, north, and south, are carefully indicated—though in one instance, oddly enough, incorrectly. There is a certain quaintness in the conviction of an error 2,000 years old—and that in a legal document.⁴ The scribe in B was clearly making a slip when he gave an eastward position to Dargman's house; a comparison of D, E, J, establishes this. Perhaps this gave rise to a little tangle in the court of the Hebrews in the days that followed; although, to be sure, when Egypt regained her independence the Semites may have lost their special tribunal.

Of the houses thus alluded to for topographical guidance, one belonged to a Nile boatman, Peft'onit, who was succeeded by his son Espemet.⁵ Their special occupation was carried on at the Cataract; so it would appear from the phrase 'difficult waters.'⁶ The word used for boat-

¹ *Introd.* p. 11.

² 'asher *b'rakhlekhā*.

³ A 3, note; and the ref. there.

⁴ B 22, note.

⁵ A 13. Cf. B 10, D 7.

⁶ Except for the geographical position of Assuan, it would seem

man is *mallach*, which occurs four times in the Old Testament. It has been by some connected with the word for 'salt'; and such a derivation would seem natural in view of the frequent mention of 'The Salt Sea' (*i.e.* the Dead Sea) in the Hexateuch. We have the expression 'old salt' = 'old sailor.' But *mallach* appears to be a specifically Assyrian loan-word. Otherwise it would be tempting to regard it as a general Semitic term, originating perhaps among the Phoenicians, the greatest sailors of olden days. The other special word for sailor in the Old Testament is *chobhel*, 'rope-man,' which would have been more appropriate for the Nile, if the other traditional derivation from 'salt' were maintained.

It has been pointed out above that the Jewish houses were small. As to their furniture, these papyri do not afford much information, especially since G, which has something to say upon the point, is very difficult of decipherment and interpretation. We are left conjecturing what may have been the '4 . . . of stone, 1 . . . which rises up with 2 handles.' But we can picture Mibhtachyah's toilet-table with its bronze mirrors and 'one new ivory cosmetic box.'

The document just alluded to, G, is a marriage settlement on the occasion of Mibhtachyah's second nuptials. It indicates the position as to divorce in those days, throwing light upon a question hitherto obscure; and with Professor Sayce's note upon this we may close this part of our review.

'We learn that the woman had the same right as the man to pronounce a sentence of divorce, but in each case it was only valid if pronounced in a public "assembly." That the right should have been given to the woman followed from the fact that she could hold and bequeath property. The penalty for demanding a divorce was the partial loss of the marriage settlement . . . if the husband divorced his wife, and the loss of the "donatio" given by the bridegroom if the wife divorced her husband. The marriage settlement passed to the children of possible, as has been pointed out to us, to take this as indicating a deep-sea sailor as distinct from a river boatman.

the divorced wife, if it was real estate on which the husband had erected buildings ; on the other hand, if the wife was forced to leave her husband without an actual divorce taking place, half the property was left in the husband's hands.'¹

(iii) The information contained in these documents as to the state of religion in the Jewish colony in Upper Egypt in the fifth century B.C. may perhaps best be considered in connexion with what the prophet Jeremiah, early in the previous century, tells us as to the condition of things then.]

Chapter xlii. contains a grave indictment against Jeremiah's fellow exiles. They had not only disregarded his warnings given earlier as to the danger of trusting to Egypt for help against Babylon—being as infatuated in this direction as their fathers had been in Isaiah's days ; and had not only fled to Egypt, settling in various cities between the Delta and the First Cataract, but they had entirely failed to learn the lessons taught them by the overthrow of their national independence. Back to the old idolatrous works and ways had they turned, casting off all fidelity to Jehovah. They are repeatedly mentioned as burning incense to other gods ; and the special object of their worship is described as 'Heaven's Queen.'

There is considerable uncertainty as to what this title means. It does not indicate a specifically Egyptian divinity ; the same cult had been observed in Jerusalem, and it enlisted the activities of both sexes and of all ages ;² but the women took a specially prominent part in the ritual.³ The difficulty as to the identification of the divinity turns upon the unusual word for 'Queen.' The ordinary Hebrew word is *malkah*, feminine of *melekh*. But here the word is *mlkheth*, and instead of 'Malkath Hashshamayim' we have 'Mlekhet Hashshamayim.' The word only occurs in five places, all of them in the prophecy of Jeremiah ; once in chap. vii., four times in chap. xlii. It was regarded as equivalent to the construct state of *malkah* by the Greek translators—Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion (and by the LXX in Jer. xlii.). The Vulgate agrees. But

¹ *Introd.* p. 12.

² *Jer.* vii. 18.

³ *Ibid.* xlii. 15, 19, 20, 25, &c.

in no fewer than fifty-two MSS.¹ the reading in vii. 18 is a different word of similar sound, the construct of *mlakah*, 'work,' &c. The expression might thus mean 'Heaven's creative work,' or perhaps 'Heaven's worship.' The LXX in vii. 18 render 'army,' *i.e.* taking it as equivalent to the construct of *tsabha*, so 'Heaven's Army.'

Whatever the term indicates, it is clear that the cultus exercised, in Jeremiah's days, an attraction which was irresistible ; and they refused to abandon it.

' Then all the men which knew that their wives burned incense unto other gods, and all the women that stood by, a great assembly, even all the people that dwelt in the land of Egypt, in Pathros, answered Jeremiah, saying, As for the word that thou hast spoken unto us in the name of the Lord, we will not hearken unto thee. But we will certainly perform every word that is gone forth out of our mouth, to burn incense unto the queen of heaven, and to pour out drink offerings unto her, as we have done, we and our fathers, our kings and our princes, in the cities of Judah, and in the streets of Jerusalem : for then had we plenty of victuals, and were well, and saw no evil. But since we left off to burn incense to the queen of heaven, and to pour out drink offerings unto her, we have wanted all things, and have been consumed by the sword and by the famine. And when we burned incense to the queen of heaven, and poured out drink offerings unto her, did we make her cakes to worship her, and pour out drink offerings unto her, without our husbands ? ²

Jeremiah's reply to this was a prediction of punishment. Jehovah swears by His great Name that all the Jewish exiles in Egypt will perish by famine or sword save a few forlorn individuals who would sadly retrace their steps and return to Judah.

This gloomy anticipation was not fulfilled. That is clearly shewn by these Assuan papyri. And who can say that Jeremiah himself may not have been the means of averting the threatened doom ? The Jews may well have been impressed by the faithful and persistent warnings of the prophet, and, by turning with purpose of heart to

¹ W. Rothstein's critical note on *Jer. vii. 18* (*Bibl. Heb.* ed. Kittel).

² *Jer. xliv. 15-19* [R. V.].

the God of their fathers, have won for their colony a continued existence and enhanced prosperity.

That they were worshippers of Jehovah and not idolaters in the fifth century B.C. may fairly be inferred from the proper names alone. It will be seen that the following all end with one form of the sacred Name: 'Anan-yah, 'Azar-yah, Ba'adh-yah, Brekh-yah, Gdhal-yah, Gmar-yah, Hodhav-yah, Hosha'-yah, Ysha-yah, Yzan-yah, Machseyah, Malkiy-yah, M'oz-yah,¹ Ma'az-yah,¹ Mibtach-yah, Plal-yah, P'lat-yah, Pnul-yah, Qoniy-yah, R'u-yah, Shma'-yah, 'Uriy-yah, Ydholiy-yah, Zkhar-yah, Zphan-yah. These names nearly all² occur in the Old Testament, and in the Translation and Notes appear in the form familiar in our English Version.

It is well known that in later times the Jews avoided all actual pronunciation of the name Jehovah; and there may be a foreshadowing of this in the frequent occurrence of the name 'Machaseh' instead of 'Machseyah.' 'Perhaps,' says Mr. Cowley, 'the Divine Name was suppressed in more familiar use.'³

Apart, however, from its use in compound names, the word Jehovah occurs five times in these papyri. In the note on B 4 it appears to be regarded as certain that 'the Jews of Elephantine, at all events in the fifth century B.C., had no objection to pronouncing the Name, or to incorporate it into their own names.' Is the assertion quite justified? The Jews who, elsewhere and later on,⁴ assuredly did avoid

¹ In Mr. Cowley's *Index of Proper Names* these are given as one and the same, *i.e.* M'oziah. We should prefer to distinguish the form in C, D from that in H, J, as the former spelling is identical with Neh. x. 9.

² The exceptions seem to be Ba'adhyah, Pnulyah (but *cf.* Penuel?), Qoniyah, Ruyah.

³ See A 9, note. The full signification of the Divine Name might not, however, be felt when it occurred (in a contracted form, as it invariably did) in the compound name of a person. And apart from that one does not stop to recall the derivation of a familiar name. We do not remember Jezebel when we say Isabel. Some, indeed, hold that these terminations do not represent the Name at all, but are merely 'emphatic affirmatives due to post-exilic manipulation.' See Kautzsch in *Encyc. Bibl.* 'Divine Names,' 3320 note.

⁴ By the 3rd cent. B.C. except in the Temple. See Kautzsch, *l.c.* There

uttering the Name did not shrink from writing its consonants. To the written consonants YHWH they fitted the vowels of an entirely different word, 'Adhonay, i.e. the plural with suffix of 'a lord'; so 'my lords,' and *pluralis majestatis*.¹ Might not some such adaptation conceivably have been in use at this period? (The papyri have of course no vowel signs.) However that may be, the Name is there written defectively. There is no sacred 'Tetragrammaton' in these documents. Jehovah is mentioned four times as YHW and once as YHH.

But assuming—as certainly would seem more likely than not—that the actual Name was used, how was it pronounced? Scholars from Ewald onwards have so far mainly held that YAHWEH was the original form. As found in the papyri, Mr. Cowley says, the word shews that YAHU was the common form in this period in Egypt. From this opinion we venture to dissent. Taking the word as it stands, even, we fail to see why it must be YAHU and nothing else.

For instance, it might conceivably be YAHO. That termination appears in the Old Testament in prefixes to proper names, as Yhoshaphat (Jehoshaphat); and it appears to have been the form of the Divine Name as used by some of the Gnostic sects later on. Again the YHH of E suggests YA-HAH or YA-HEH, the latter form resembling the transliteration of Origen, IAE. Doubtless the pointing YAHU seemed the natural one to use, in view of the fact that Old Testament names ending in YHW are always so pointed. But scholars differ as to the real form of this termination. While some attach weight to the Massoretic traditional pronunciation, others hold that the 'abbreviated form YAHU can only be explained by the form YAHW.'² In the latter case W is a real consonant, not a vowel letter; and the theory is supported by a well-known allusion by Josephus to the unpronounceable Name, in *Antiq.* II. xii. 4.

¹ The curious suggestion has been put forward by Grimm, 'on quite insufficient grounds,' says Kautzsch, that YHWH is itself a sort of *plural* form from YHW or perhaps WHW! *Ency. Bibl. I.c.*

² Kautzsch, *I.c.*

the occurrence on ancient Jewish *intaglios* of a form obviously consonantal.¹ Supposing at all events that such a pronunciation as YAHW or YAHV was in use, in what other way than YHW could it have been written? In any case we should be glad to avoid 'YAHU.' The term *Bonus Scarabaeus* is not now regarded as an appropriate designation of Christ; and it is disagreeable—even as a matter of sentiment—to use a transliteration which recalls memories of Dean Swift's satire. If the word *hndz* is left without vowels in E, why not follow the same plan in B, E, J with regard to YHW, especially since the whole question is so far from being settled?

As the documents are legal, it is natural to find that the sacred Name occurs in connexion with the judicial oath. 'Thou hast sworn to me by YHW the God' (B 4)—'To swear by YHW' (B 6)—'Thou didst swear to me by YHW' (B 11).

But one instance of a legal oath is very suggestive as to the religious position of the Jews in Egypt. Mibhtachyah swears by Sati! This is one of the most curious things in the papyri. It is the more significant because the oath was taken not before an Egyptian tribunal, but *in the court of the Hebrews at Assuan*. It suggests that the Jews recognized to some extent the gods worshipped by their neighbours. As Sati was the goddess of the Cataract, the Semites who lived near her domain might be the less unwilling to use her name in oath. The cult of a local god dies hard; and it has reappeared in Christendom in the homage paid to various shrines whose associations are less Christian than pagan.

In view of this 'open-mindedness,' it is not surprising to find a Jewess marrying outside her own faith. Mibhtachyah's second husband bore the name As-Chor,² which means 'belonging to the God Horus.'³ He is described as 'builder to the King.' Presumably he was Egyptian;

¹ Nöldeke in *Ency. Bibl.*, s.v. 'Personal Names,' 3279. The name 'Uzziyyahu (Uzziah) appears as עזיה.

² H. G.

³ Appendix I. p. 24. The son of Osiris and Isis.

although Mr. Cowley does not seem to have noticed that the names Ashchur and Pashchur appear in the Old Testament as Jewish; Nöldeke would connect these with Horus.¹ Still, he seems most likely to have been Egyptian; and the interesting suggestion is put forward² that he became a proselyte to the Jewish faith. This is based upon the fact that the same person re-appears in subsequent documents with the name of 'Nathan.' If it had been 'Nathaniel' (Nthan-*el*) the parallel to As-Chor would have been striking; he first 'belongs' to Horus, then God 'gives' him a new faith and name.

This is not the only suggestion that proselytism was known in Egypt at that time. One Hosea is mentioned in B, whose father was Peti-Khnum; this name means 'gift of Khnum.'³ Mr. Cowley, however, points out⁴ that 'it is customary to find Jews using two names, one Hebrew and another vernacular. . . . Possibly the practice had already begun, and Peti-Khnum and As-Chor were the non-Hebrew names borne by Jews who were rather lax in their religious views.' On the other hand, it seems reasonable to infer that in a connected series of legal documents the same man would be known consistently by the same name. The balance of probability appears to us to be in favour of the supposition that the Egyptian As-Chor, at all events, became a convert to the monotheistic faith of the Hebrews.

Our last look into these papyri is directed to a fact of considerable interest. The Jews had a place set apart for worship. There it was, in 'King's Way,' twenty-three centuries ago. It is described as a chapel. The word so rendered, we learn, is used in the Targums for an *altar* to a heathen god; but since this stood by the King's road it was probably within some sort of inclosure, and so a chapel or shrine.⁵

Thus the Jewish colony enjoyed complete toleration. It is saddening to contrast this state of freedom in Egypt

¹ *Ency. Bibl. I.c.*

² P. 47, J 3.

³ Appendix I., p. 24, col. 2 (Khnum was the ram-headed god, the soul of the world).

⁴ P. 37, B 17.

⁵ P. 41, E 14. The term comes again in J.

in the fifth century B.C., or that in Rome at a later date, with the persecution to which God's ancient people have since been subjected in Christian lands.

There is a felicitous reference both in the Introduction and the Notes to Isaiah xix. 19.

'In that day shall there be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at the border thereof to the Lord. And it shall be for a sign and for a witness unto the Lord of hosts in the land of Egypt.'

This anticipation certainly contrasts very clearly with the religious conceptions of the centuries subsequent to Isaiah. It was in 'Jerusalem where men ought to worship.' This exclusiveness permitted of a synagogue, but certainly not of an 'altar' in places other than the Holy City.

'We can now understand,' says Professor Sayce, 'the feeling that led to the foundation of the temple of Onias near Heliopolis; the Egyptian Jew did not share the belief of his post-exilic brother in Palestine in regard to the worship of Yahveh, and he could claim that he had the prophet Isaiah on his side.'

History repeats itself. The Divine purpose is not exhausted by a single realization; and a large horizon lies round the forgotten site of the shrine of Jehovah in the King's Way, Yebh. These papyri were found in Assuan, by 'the workmen employed in making the new road which runs from the railway station . . . to the English . . . church . . . on the top of the hill.'

ART. VIII.—IRISH UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.

II. A UNIVERSITY FOR CORK.

1. *First, Second, and Final Reports of the Royal Commission on Irish University Education.* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1901-2.)

THACKERAY—and no one will suspect that distinguished writer of any special sympathy with or partiality for the Irish

people—in his *Irish Sketch Book*, gives a picture of Cork as he saw it more than sixty years ago. With the greater part of this account, interesting as it is to those who dwell by the pleasant waters of the river Lee, we are not here concerned; but there is one part of it which is so closely germane to the present subject that it may be permissible to quote it at some length:

'In regard of the gentlemen,' he notes, 'a stranger must remark the extraordinary degree of literary taste and talent among them, and the wit and vivacity of their conversation. The love for literature seems to an Englishman doubly curious. . . . The Cork citizens are the most book-loving men I ever met. The town has sent to England a number of literary men, of reputation too, and is not a little proud of their fame. Everybody seemed to know what Maginn was doing, and that Father Prout had a third volume ready, and what was Mr. Croker's last article in the "Quarterly." The young clerks and shopmen seemed as much *au fait* as their employers, and many is the conversation I heard about the merits of this writer or that—Dickens, Ainsworth, Lover, Lever.'

Then he notices with regard to the poorer classes that 'every Englishman must remark that the superiority of intelligence is here and not with us,' and he tells how he

'listened to two boys almost in rags: they were lolling over the quay balustrade, and talking about *one of the Ptolemies!* and talking very well too. One of them had been reading in "Rollin," and was detailing his information with a great deal of eloquence and fire. Another day, walking in the Mardyke, I followed three boys, not half so well dressed as London errand-boys: one was telling the other about Captain Ross's voyages, and spoke with as much brightness and intelligence as the best-read gentleman's son in England could do. He was as much of a gentleman too, the ragged young student; his language was extremely rich, too, and eloquent.'

And finally for our present purpose, he goes on to say that 'the Corcaghians are eager for a Munster University,' and to plead the great advantages which such a university would be to the people of the South. Sixty years have passed and more since these words of Thackeray were

written, and the people of Cork and of Munster in general are still eager for their Munster University, and still remain without it.

It was wanted in the forties, no doubt, and had it then been established would have done incalculable good; but it is still more wanted at this present day. There are to be found in Cork to-day the same bright intelligence and, perhaps one may add, the same love of [learning that Thackeray observed when he was there. But we doubt whether anybody could now claim for Cork the distinction of being the most book-loving city in the Empire. Is it likely that it should be? Can you deprive generation after generation of young men, not to speak of young women, of the higher education which was their due, and still expect to rear up a population loving books and devoted to literature and science? Why, the thing would be a miracle at the present day. Here we have schools as good of their class as any that can be seen in the most favoured towns of England or even of Scotland, but what becomes of the boys who study in them? Their education is truncated, for they must either cease their studies when they leave school or pursue a so-called university course in the school itself, a course terminated by a degree no doubt, but otherwise bearing no kind of resemblance to a true university education: in many cases, one fears, a source of harm rather than of good to the recipient.

To supply the constant waves of bright young boys which break annually on the shores of Cork there is needed a university of such a kind as they will make use of, and it is more needed than it was in Thackeray's time. When he visited Ireland its government was entirely in the hands of a class which neither needed nor cared for the kind of university which the 'Corcagians are eager for.' Ireland was governed, as England was, by the landocracy and the squirearchy. But all these things have come to an end, and Ireland is now governed by the people even more than England is. For, owing to unfortunate political differences to which it is scarcely necessary to allude, the local authorities are composed for the most part entirely of persons not

belonging to the classes which formerly ruled the roost in that country. It is necessary, if the country is to be properly ruled, that suitable means of higher education should be provided for the democracy which now governs all local affairs in Ireland, and which—if political prophets may be relied upon—will rule in the future with greatly increased powers and privileges. The Democracy of Munster cries aloud for this higher education, and surely it will not cry in vain. ‘But,’ someone may exclaim, rubbing his eyes, ‘surely you have, and have had these sixty years past, if not a university, at least a university college in Cork, and why has that not satisfied this burning desire of Cork for a university of its own?’ A pertinent question, and one which brings us straight to the heart of the present difficulty. Why has the Queen’s College been unsuccessful, and what can be done to make it successful? These are the two questions which confront us, as they confront the statesman who has to deal with this problem.

Addressing ourselves to the first of these questions, it may be said unhesitatingly that the experiment of setting up non-sectarian colleges for the first time could hardly have been tried in a less favourable country than Ireland, or in a less favourable spot than Cork. In the first place, at the time in question, every other university was tied up to some form of religious belief. Oxford, Cambridge, Durham were Anglican, so was Dublin, while all the Scottish Universities were Presbyterian. The experiment of the Queen’s Colleges and of the Queen’s University was then of a perfectly novel character: and in what kind of a country was it tried? Was it in one where there was such indifference to religion, or at least to religious dogma, as we now find to be the case in many parts of England? At the present moment the population of the County of Cork is something over 400,000 souls, of whom more than 365,000 are Roman Catholics. In the Municipal Borough of Cork there are over 76,000 inhabitants, of whom nearly 66,000 are Roman Catholics. The remainder are divided among a number of bodies, but the majority belong to the Church of Ireland. And whatever denomination these

people may belong to, this at least may be said, that they are a deeply religious, church-going people. No one can doubt that fact who passes a Sunday in Cork and uses his eyes. Things were not otherwise when the College was established in the middle of the last century. Yet it was in a city such as this and in a district like that of the County of Cork that it was proposed to inaugurate an experiment in non-sectarian education : nay more, in education divorced from any definite connexion with religion such as all the other universities of the British Isles then possessed. In considering the question of the Queen's Colleges we must consider it as it was at the time, and not as it is now, in this present era of non-sectarian, non-religious universities. We must bear in mind that the often-used taunt of 'godless colleges' was flung at Peel's proposed institutions, not by an Irish Catholic, but by an English Protestant member of the House of Commons, Sir R. Inglis.

Such was the place selected for the experiment : and what of the time at which it occurred ? If ever experiment was *infelix opportunitate sua* it was that with which we are dealing. At the very moment that the negotiations for the acceptance or non-acceptance of the colleges were at the most critical point, Lord John Russell wrote his 'No Popery' letter, and the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill was passed through both Houses of Parliament. Now, whatever justification may be urged for the popular excitement engendered by the publication of the Brief *Universalis Ecclesiae* and Cardinal Wiseman's famous letter, it is indisputable that these retaliatory measures were regarded as 'so insulting at Rome, and such a proof of the hostility of the British Government to the Roman Catholic religion,' that the negotiations came to an end, and a Rescript was issued on May 23, 1851, which condemned the colleges as intrinsically dangerous to religion, and prohibited ecclesiastics from having anything to do with them. There seems little doubt that Peel intended to make the colleges at Galway and Cork as Catholic as the college at Belfast was to be Presbyterian, and that the demands of the latter body were no less exacting—nay,

more exacting—than the former may be gathered from a letter written to Peel by a Presbyterian gentleman in connexion with the College at Belfast.

'I should be acting most unfaithfully to the Government' (says this gentleman) 'did I not clearly express my conviction that one Roman Catholic or Unitarian Professor in the under-graduate course would at once decide the General Assembly to withdraw every student. Of this result I entertain not a single doubt. You might, indeed, appoint an Episcopalian, not known as a Puseyite, as readily as a Presbyterian or a Baptist, Independent or Methodist, without much dissatisfaction, but not a Unitarian or Roman Catholic.'

This, be it remarked, in a city in which Protestants have a numerical supremacy over Roman Catholics considerably less than Roman Catholics have over Protestants in Cork. As a matter of fact, of the twenty original professors of Queen's College, Belfast, two were Roman Catholics; but in Cork, in addition to the President, only three of them were of that faith. One of these was the Professor of Law, and the other two belonged to the Faculty of Medicine. It is useless and even painful to look back into the history of the College at Cork for the past sixty years, during which time it has, through no fault of its teachers, done so much and yet so little for education in the South of Ireland. So much, for hundreds of men will admit that they could never have risen from the humble positions of their parents to those places of distinction in this and other countries which they afterwards came to occupy, had it not been for the College which brought a cheap and a good education to their very doors. So little, for little it has been when one remembers how many hundreds of clever boys have turned their backs on the doors of the College during its sixty years of existence because of the inherent defects which their parents found in its constitution.

It is better to turn our faces from the past to the future, and to consider whether a better day may not be dawning for higher education in the South of Ireland. Recent events have shewn that the people of Cork are just as eager for a university as they were in the days of Thackeray;

one most generous offer of pecuniary assistance has been made by an old student of the College, and there is no doubt that with a little hope of achieving the object which all have in view there would be many other gifts forthcoming.

But in order that success may follow upon these efforts two things are absolutely essential. In the first place, the method of the government of the College must be altered. A university or a college should be a free, self-governing corporation. This the Queen's Colleges can scarcely be considered to be. Their property is not their own ; their buildings are repaired by the Board of Works ; their professors are all appointed by external authority ; their courses are settled by a university entirely outside themselves. Nor is their constitution one which brings them into contact with the people. There is, of course, no body of local graduates who might connect the people with local interests.

Methods of university rule have their fashions, as so many other things have. When the Queen's Colleges were constituted the fashionable mode of government was the *Senatus* type, then familiar in the Scottish Universities, and the *Senatus* type of government is that under which the Cork College now exists. The Corporate Body consists of the President and Professors, who elect a Council consisting of the President, *ex officio*, and six other members of their body ; and (subject to the innumerable rolls of red tape which have been wound round the institution by successive occupants of the Castle at Dublin and its satellite offices), in such liberty as is permitted to it, this Council manages the affairs of the College. Remembering that all the Professors are Crown nominees, it becomes clear that the government of the College is as much detached from local influence as if it were in the planet Saturn. In other words, it is as much detached from popular influence as the newer English Universities are subject to it. Can any sane person, who knows the city of Birmingham, imagine a college succeeding in that city, if that college were managed from Dublin ? Yet the parallel with the condition of things existing in Ireland is in no way exaggerated.

But if a change is necessary in this respect, fortunately there is no difficulty in pointing the way to that change, nor is there any lack of precedent for the alteration required. The fashion of university government mentioned above has long gone out, and has been replaced by a more democratic method. In Scotland each university has its Council, and on that Council are representatives of popular interests. Through their Courts of Governors and the members elected by them on the Councils, the newer English Universities are in full touch with public opinion and are responsive to local needs. And in return they have their share, in full measure, of local interest and local affection. The people of Birmingham or of Manchester or of Liverpool look upon the universities in those cities as *their* universities ; they are proud of them, and they are willing to do their share in supporting them out of public funds. Such is the state of affairs which one wants to see prevalent in Ireland. That the people of Cork, who were so eager for a university in the days of Thackeray, who were so eminently entitled to such a possession by right of their native intelligence and love of learning—that such a people should have shewn no interest in the College which was provided for them cries aloud in proof of the fact that they were given the kind of thing which they did not want. They asked for bread, and the intelligent English Government of the time, sure as always that it knew a great deal better than Ireland what Ireland wanted, and what was good for her, gave the country, perhaps not exactly a stone, but at least what was to her palate the sourest and least desirable piece of rye-bread which could be discovered in any baking establishment.

Give Cork—and, in parenthesis we would add, give other colleges in Ireland—a governing body containing a judicious blend of professorial and popularly-elected members ; add, as you must add, where considerable sums of Crown money are in question, a small number of Crown nominees ; give Cork, in a word, the kind of government that Birmingham has, and you at once dispose of the difficulties which hang around that seat of learning. Such

a governing body would, on any fair method of constructing it, be largely, predominately Roman Catholic, it is true. But why not? More than ninety per cent. of the population around belong to that faith, and surely they have the right to something like a corresponding position in the governing body of what is, after all, *their* College.

If the population of the Midland Counties of England happened to be largely Muhammadan, the University of Birmingham, under its present system, would have a strong Muhammadan flavour. It happens that the district in question is one which is not characterized by any very strong religious preponderance—at least as mirrored by its public men—and hence the University of Birmingham is of a non-religious character. But it is so constituted that it will alter with the alterations of the population around, and that is all that can be asked for. Cork, on similar lines would have a governing body which would be predominately Roman Catholic, so long as the South of Ireland remains Roman Catholic. If the South of Ireland suddenly or gradually became of another mind religiously, then, under the proper form of government, the College would change with it. For, after all, the College exists for the population, and not the population for the College, a little fact which is sometimes forgotten or ignored not only by Governments, but by others associated more closely still with the colleges.

Cork, then, in the first place wants a democratic form of government, and without that it is hopeless that she should expect to make any headway against the difficulties which have so long retarded her progress. But she wants something else—not so urgently as the first, it is true, but still she wants it very badly—and that is a university of her own, or at least a college with real freedom of action. Under the old Queen's University system, the Queen's Colleges were bound together in a Federal University. With all its limitations that University was surprisingly effective, and had, when it was ruthlessly slain, attained a remarkable measure of success; indeed it is said that it was in no small degree on account of its

success and by reason of the damaging effect which it was supposed to have been exercising upon an older sister, that the unfortunate Queen's University was ended, instead of being mended as it might easily have been and as it ought to have been. But even a university like the Queen's is a hobble on the feet of all its colleges. Never has the experiment of a Federal University been anywhere a success in the long run, nor is it in the nature of things that it should be.

No doubt the best thing for Cork would be an independent university of its own, and this is exactly what Cork wants now as she did in the days of Thackeray. With such a university reasonably well endowed—and England owes Ireland a debt for education crushed in the past—it is hard to say how great progress might not be made in higher education in the South of Ireland. Certain it is that scores who now hold aloof would then flock to the class-rooms of the College.

But if it be thought impossible to give a university to Cork, then at least let her be given a college which will have some *Lehrfreiheit*, and not a place where everything is laid down from outside as at present. Let her have an institution which will have some kind of voice in deciding what it shall teach and how it shall teach it. Let her have an institution which will examine its own students, with such external examiners as may be thought necessary. Let her citizens have the satisfaction of seeing the degrees gained by their children conferred upon them in their midst. Without such things as these the College must remain a thing in bondage, and can never exercise that influence which it ought to have upon the population among whom it is placed and for whose benefit it exists. At the present moment all its courses are laid down for it by the Royal University, and all the text-books which have to be read are equally suggested to it. Its students go up to Dublin to be examined, and here in some few instances they find themselves confronted by their own teachers as examiners, in other cases not, while they have the satisfaction of knowing that students from other institutions have the

privilege in every case of feeling that among their examiners is a man who knows them and who has taught them. Finally, when the end of the course has come the degrees obtained are conferred in Dublin, and there is an end of the whole thing. The last point may seem a small one, but those who know what is meant by local patriotism and local sentiment will not so regard it. It is a great thing that the outward and visible signs of university life should be brought home to people. It adds to their respect for their own institution, and it gives them a feeling towards it which nothing else can impart.

Ireland has some natural disadvantages when compared with England. She is singularly devoid of minerals and singularly wanting in coal. One thing she has, one possession allotted to her in no ungenerous measure—a quick-witted, learning-loving progeny. And in no part of the island have these gifts been lavished in more prodigal manner than in the Province of Munster. We have often heard, as others have heard, of the way in which the farm-labourers brought up in the hedge-schools of old in Kerry were wont to talk to one another in Latin in the fields. Within the last year an old gentleman died in Cork who told the writer that he had himself heard the labourers thus conversing, when a boy, in the county in question. Surely riches of this sort are worthy of exploitation as much as mines or oil-wells. We have this mine of talent there in the South ; it has never yet been properly worked ; it is ready for operations. Why should there be any longer delay in commencing them ?

We do not know yet how the present Commission on Trinity College, Dublin, will report. In the last number of the *Church Quarterly Review* we ventured to express our opinions very definitely upon the subject. As loyal members of the Church of England, claiming for that Church the right to have the opportunity of building up its own members in their religious belief and of training its own clergy for its ministry in a university, we consider that justice demands that equal rights should be conceded to other religious

bodies. The exclusion of English Nonconformists from university education in the past has been disastrous to the country. The exclusion of Roman Catholics in Ireland from university education in conditions harmonious with their faith is a gross injustice. We do not believe in the destruction of what already exists. We should deplore anything which would alter the character of Trinity College, or any measure which should compel its premature amalgamation with other colleges with which it is not prepared to unite. What is immediately necessary is that at Dublin, at Belfast, and at Cork colleges, brought by their constitutions into touch with the people, should be liberally endowed. Then those colleges might be united temporarily in a university with its headquarters at Dublin; but we should hope that very soon Cork and Belfast would be strong enough to form independent universities, and that Trinity College and any other colleges in Dublin might voluntarily unite in one university. It would, we think, be wise that the other colleges in Ireland should be affiliated to one or other of these centres, or even in many cases amalgamated with them. At any rate the Royal University should eventually go. There has never been a graver condemnation of any educational system than that passed upon it by the Commission on University Education in Ireland (1902).¹

One thing more may be said in conclusion. Let us be rid of the megalomania of the day, which considers that no university can be strong unless it is large. A very considerable proportion of the great men of Germany have come from its small universities. The University of Tübingen, which shook the religious foundations of Europe, was not much larger than some colleges in Oxford or Cambridge. There is more room for free and independent growth where the number of students is not too large, where the claims of organization and management are slight, where there is opportunity for intimate personal relationship between student and professor, between student and student, between professor and professor,

¹ *Report, Section II., 'Defects of the Royal University System.'*

where one faculty can come into intimate contact with another, and new thoughts can be struck out amid the clash and contention of very varied minds ; and if nowhere else, at any rate in the field of learning we need the imagination and the wit of the Celt to assist the dull materialism of modern English science.

SHORT NOTICES.

I.—BIBLICAL STUDIES.

Bible Side-Lights from the Mound of Gezer : a Record of Excavation and Discovery in Palestine. By R. A. STEWART MACALISTER, M.A., F.S.A., Director of Excavations, Palestine Exploration Fund. (London : Hodder and Stoughton, 1906.) 5s.

THE work of the Palestine Exploration Fund since its foundation forty years ago should be well known to all whose interest in the story of the Holy Land is a really living interest. We say 'should be' ; unluckily it is very evident that this work is not so well known as it ought to be. If it were, there would have been no need for the writing of this *livre de vulgarisation*, whose avowed object is to stimulate interest, and so to bring the needed money to the by no means replete coffers of the Fund. For excavations cannot be carried on without money ; to wage war one needs the sinews of war.

We hope Mr. Macalister's little book will succeed in its object. Its appearance is attractive, its photographs are good, and in this age of 'hustle' it does not lack the necessary sensational element, as the titles of the chapters shew. To attract subscribers the big drum must be beaten, and Mr. Macalister beats it. 'Prologue,' 'The Horites,' 'The Iniquity of the Amorite,' 'The Home of Rebekah,' 'The Golden Calf,' 'Achan's Spoil,' 'The Death of Samson,' 'Epilogue,' are attractive headlines. We congratulate the author on his energy.

The matter of the volume, apart from all this, is the description of the Palestine Exploration Fund's work at Gezer. Palestinian excavation gives us no such results as those of Egypt and Crete, despite the greatest and most arduous work and devotion on the part of the excavators. But you cannot find

what is not there to be found. Isolated sensational finds have been made, but we wish that subscribers to archæological work would abandon the vicious habit of wanting sensations for their money. Steady scientific work like Mr. Macalister's ought to be able to command adequate monetary help merely because it is steady and scientific, and because it has laid bare for us the ancient history of a typical Palestinian town-site such as that of Gezer, and given the archæologists material for study. Success in excavation is (given knowledge of what he is doing, common sense, and a sharp eye on the part of the excavator) largely a matter of 'luck.' One year he may find nothing, the next year a really epoch-making discovery may be made. The results of this successful year should make up for the barren year preceding. Unluckily, however, two barren years are quite enough to frighten away half the supporters, who will not wait for the successful year which is certain to come. Dr. Arthur Evans has found that even a succession of really sensational discoveries, which have revolutionized our knowledge of the early history of Greece, has not been sufficient to attract the amount of monetary support that his work ought to receive. The Palestine Exploration Fund has, however, been supported through many lean as well as fat years by a loyal body of subscribers who realize that, though the results of its researches have not always been sensational, yet they represent solid scientific work which has told us much that we did not know before with regard to the early history of Palestine. May their number increase and their work prosper!

The excavation of Gezer has been one of the most successful operations undertaken by the Fund. Mr. Macalister describes the identification of the site by M. Clermont-Ganneau many years ago, and gives a good description of the actual work of excavation as carried out under his own direction. The succeeding chapters give for popular consumption vignettes, so to speak, of the most interesting conclusions he derives from his labour. They are dramatically conceived, and bring home to the reader the way in which a keen archæologist works. The most solid chapters in the book are that on 'the City Walls,' and that dealing with 'The Maccabæan Conquest,' and we have found these the most interesting. The weakest are 'The Death of Samson,' which is unnecessary as well as weak, and 'The Craftsmen of Judah,' in the argument of which we decline to place much trust. Indeed, this last chapter puts us in doubt as to the precise attitude assumed by the writer with regard to

Biblical criticism. In other chapters he seems to favour traditional views (as to Samson, for instance), while in this particular chapter he shines forth as an extreme critic, accepting the exaggerated 'Jerahmeel' theory without hesitation. His correction of the Hebrew text of 1 Chron. iv. 16-23 should be read as an example of the 'cryptogram' style of criticism. For the alteration of 'And these are the sons of Bithiah the daughter of Pharaoh, which Mered took' into 'And these are the sons of the Scarabæus, which they adopted in apostasy,' Mr. Macalister's explanation is unsatisfactory. His reason for this correction is that the genealogy concerned is that of 'the potters and the inhabitants of Netaim and Gederah,' and he has found at Gezer pottery jar-handles, inscribed with names which occur in this genealogy, and having upon them a sort of trade-mark which may or may not be intended for a winged scarabæus. He cannot understand why an Egyptian princess should have been included in the genealogy, and so guesses that the reference to the 'Daughter of Jehovah [Bithiah], the daughter of the King of Egypt' (as he translates) is 'an allusive method of description in accordance with Hebrew methods of expression' (p. 157), of this scarabæus trade-mark of the potters, 'which they adopted in apostasy.' It seems a far-fetched argument. Why should not a certain Mered have married an Egyptian woman perhaps bearing some such name as *Tsenesit*, 'Child of Isis,' or *Tsenhor*, 'Child of Horus,' whom he called by the more orthodox appellation Bithiah? 'Daughter of Pharaoh' need not mean more than an ordinary Egyptian woman. That she introduced the Scarab trade-mark into the family we might argue with some plausibility, but before we could do this we should require to know one thing from Mr. Macalister, and that he does not tell us: the date of the jar-handles. Then we could see if connexion could fairly be assumed.

Generally, Mr. Macalister does not sufficiently make clear the varying levels at which the objects he mentions were found, and their varying dates. Even in a purely popular book like this it is advisable to be precise on such points. In Plate 34 Mr. Macalister illustrates the ornaments described in the story of Rebekah as being worn by the household of Laban, by bronze fibulæ which must, judging by what we know of the date at which they first appeared in Greece, be of quite late date. But perhaps he considers them appropriate illustrations of a story which was redacted so late as 700 B.C. Whether the other

antiquities which illustrate this chapter are of this late date or belong to the earlier Amorite period we are not told.

The rather luridly named chapter on 'The Iniquity of the Amorite' is interesting as throwing new light upon the cruel religious customs of the Canaanites. Mr. Macalister publishes here a photograph of the splendid altar of baked earth, ornamented with superposed figures of lions and sphinxes in relief, which was discovered by the Austrian expedition of Dr. Sellin at Taanach. This is one of the most important archaeological finds yet made in Palestine.

The chapters on the 'Walls' and the 'Maccabæan Conquest,' already mentioned, contain important archaeological matter, and the photographs attest the care and scientific method with which the excavation was carried out. The identification of the actual house built for himself by Simon Maccabæus after his capture of Gezer, by means of one of its stones, on which is scratched a curse upon the builder written by one of the pagan Syrians expelled by him, is one of those happenings which rejoice an excavator's heart. '(Says) Pampras: may fire pursue Simon's palace!' Mr. Macalister should thank Pampras for this little exhibition of bad temper!

The book ends with a short history of the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund, and a list of its publications.

The Tradition of Scripture. By WILLIAM BARRY, D.D. 'The Westminster Library.' (London: Longmans.) 3s. 6d. net.

THIS volume is one of a series of manuals by Roman Catholic writers for the help of priests and students. The purpose is to deal with subjects of importance in pastoral work, which are somewhat crowded out before ordination. The editors are the President of St. Edmund's College and the Rev. H. Thurston, S.J. The scope of the present volume is the origin, authority, and interpretation of the Bible, in view of modern study and research. It can have been no easy task to compress these subjects within the limits of 266 pages. In fact, the volume suffers from the effort, as it is not always easy reading, and many problems are simply alluded to where a short summary would have been more useful.

The opening section treats of the Bible in its relation to Catholic tradition, which is described as the bulwark of critical science. The critical method of interpretation is vindicated, and other methods are described as instruments, not of critics, but of theologians. It is the Reformation which has made a

new discipline as regards study necessary. In dogma the Church binds its members, whereas in dealing with the human and historical side of the Bible there is freedom. For the text of the Old Testament 'we must do the best we can.' The LXX represents the Christian text or canon, but the Hebrew original of its text is lost. The attitude of the English Church to the Apocrypha is criticized from this standpoint.

The treatment of the canon is accompanied by a review of individual books, following in the main the position of Dr. Driver and of Dr. Hastings' dictionary. There is a certain measure of hesitation over the Pentateuch, the Mosaic authorship being asserted in the sense that Moses originated the Pentateuch, and that it embodies the work of writers who obeyed his inspiration. But this scarcely justifies the allusion to Deuteronomy xxviii. as 'that wonderful forecast of Moses.' It is stated clearly that the New Testament is of no weight for the critical decision of authorship.

Turning to the New Testament, we find the treatment of the Synoptic question inadequate, and a somewhat mistaken use of the second-century testimony to authorship. Of St. John as the writer of the Fourth Gospel, Dr. Barry says: 'An Eastern, not a Western, author, doubtless.' 'If we assume that St. John gave the substance which his Hellenic secretary put into shape, the problem would be greatly lightened.' And a somewhat similar conclusion is urged for the Pastoral Epistles: 'Some revision of these Pauline letters by a younger hand would keep the Pauline substance, respect such early witnesses as are on record, and account for the terminology.'

The third section treats of inspiration. 'We do not start with theory, but open the volumes to discover in them what is signified by the statement that the Bible is divine.' The revelation is the divine gift of new ideas, and to the writers the Holy Spirit gives light, guidance, and control. The revelation and record are progressive. There is a human element, but the writing was adequate to the purpose for which it had been evoked. All looks to the Christ.

We may add that there is a fairly full bibliography, but with some notable omissions in connexion with the New Testament.

Some Thoughts on Inspiration. By J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON, D.D.
(London: Longmans.) 6d. net.

SIDE by side with Dr. Barry's book we have placed, as a useful contrast a smaller work, which has achieved a wide circulation,

and in which the fundamental problem of inspiration is treated with less detail but with somewhat greater freedom.

In these short, popular lectures the Dean of Westminster gives a very lucid and straightforward account of the change which modern criticism has brought about in our view of the Bible. The reasons which have justified this change are stated with cogent simplicity. The Dean says nothing that is not already familiar to professed students, but he deals tenderly with the perplexities of those who are troubled with vague misgivings at the results of literary criticism. Indeed, his tone in dealing with a somewhat difficult subject is throughout most considerate, reverent, and tactful, and he speaks with the peculiar weight which naturally attaches to utterances coming from such a quarter.

There is little in the lectures which calls for special comment, but we may direct attention to two points in particular. First, the Dean draws a necessary and useful distinction between the criticism of the Old and of the New Testament. He says :

'If, when the same methods of criticism are applied to the New Testament as are applied to the Old Testament, the results are very different, it is only because the material under examination is of so different a kind. The distance of time between the record and the recorded events in the New Testament is nothing as compared with the distance between the record and the events in many parts of the Old Testament, where it varies from perhaps a hundred to a thousand years. For when the earliest Gospel records were written down many persons were living who might have been present as eye-witnesses of the events of our Lord's ministry.'

This is a point of great importance, but it is often overlooked by those who oppose the higher criticism of the Old Testament on the ground that similar methods, if applied to the New Testament, would be fatally destructive.

Another consideration which is apt to be forgotten is emphasized by the Dean : namely, that the problems discussed by literary and historical criticism are clearly raised *within* the Bible itself.

'The criticism of the Old Testament which has marked the past quarter of a century has been pre-eminently an internal criticism. It is the weighing of Scripture by Scripture, not the judging of Scripture by some external sources of information.'

Further, it is pointed out that the results of critical investigation cannot be set aside because they conflict with existing views, but must be 'tested with the utmost frankness by those who understand the processes by which they are reached.'

An effective quotation from Origen, which closes the first lecture, proves that the critical point of view in regard to the Old Testament is not purely modern. It may be objected that the Dean's account of Biblical inspiration is negative rather than positive, but he uses language which implies a definite conception of inspiration as consisting in a peculiar gift of moral insight. The inspired writer, he says, 'would rightly recognise the power of God in the processes of nature, and would clearly trace the hand of God in his nation's history.' In regard to our Lord's references to the Old Testament, the Dean, on the whole, accepts the view that 'He did not transcend the best knowledge of His time in these literary details.' The Dean has dealt briefly with a large subject, but what he says is well calculated to stimulate thoughtful inquiry and to allay the spirit of panic.

Evangelion Da-Mepharreshe. The Curetonian Version of the Four Gospels, with the readings of the Sinai Palimpsest and the early Syriac Patristic Evidence, edited, collected and arranged by F. CRAWFORD BURKITT, M.A. Two Vols. (Cambridge University Press. 1905.) 2*l.* 2*s.*

PROFESSOR BURKITT in the volumes before us has given to Syriac scholars and to students of the text and ancient versions of the Gospels a most interesting and important work. But its title is somewhat misleading. *Evangelion Da-Mēphar-rēshē* means 'Gospel of the Separated (books)' and is a title used to distinguish the four Separate Gospels from Tatian's *Diatessaron*, which was called *Evangelion Da-Mēhallētē* or 'Gospel of the Mixed (books).' Obviously the title might be equally well applied to the Peshitta version of the Gospels, and there is some evidence that it was so used afterwards. We prefer, then, to call the two manuscripts brought together in this edition 'the Old Syriac' in distinction to the Peshitta, which became later, from the time of Rabbula (A.D. 411) the authorized Syriac version.

In vol. i. Mr. Burkitt has collected together all the manuscript and patristic evidence which is at present at our command for reconstructing the text of this Old Syriac version of the Gospels. The two extant manuscripts are the *Curetonian*, first published in 1858, and the *Sinai Palimpsest*, discovered in 1892, copied and photographed in the following year—the first printed edition appearing in 1894.

Mr. Burkitt has made C (the *Curetonian*) the basis of his text. Some regret must be felt at this as S (the *Sinaitic*) is acknowledged by all scholars—including Mr. Burkitt himself—

to be the text nearest to the original ; but there is some satisfaction in the fact that we have the Syndics' edition of S still in print, whereas a new edition of the *Curetonian*, which has long been out of print and hard to obtain, was much desired.

Vol. ii. (Introduction and Notes) deals with the problem of the age of the text represented by the two manuscripts (S and C), and their value as witnesses to the original Greek text of the Gospels.

The theory which Mr. Burkitt propounds in this volume is briefly as follows :

1. The Diatessaron of Tatian was introduced into the early Syrian Church in 170 A.D. It was made in Rome and has affinity with the Western texts of D and the Old Latin. This Harmony was the earliest form in which the Gospels were known to the Syriac-speaking people, and it was used as the standard authority for the Gospel history until early in the fifth century.

2. In the meantime, however, an Evangelion da-Mepharreshe, or rendering of the separated Gospels into Syriac, was made about the year 200 under the direction of Serapion of Antioch, while Palut, the third Bishop of Edessa, was perhaps the translator. This translation was the Old Syriac of which S and C are the only remaining representatives. This Old Syriac version seems never to have superseded the Diatessaron in the public worship of the Church.

3. In 411, when Rabbula became Bishop of Edessa, a great change took place. The Diatessaron was banished from the Syriac-speaking Churches and was replaced by an authorized edition of the four Gospels known as the Peshitta version. This became and has ever since been the Syriac Vulgate.

A large proportion of this Introduction—viz. chaps. iii. and iv.—is taken up with examining the evidence of quotations in the early Syriac patristic writings as to the respective dates of these three versions—and here we think that Mr. Burkitt has proved his point with regard to the date of the Peshitta version. His careful consideration of the quotations from the Gospels in Ephraim Syrus (the majority of which Mr. Burkitt had already discussed in *Texts and Studies*, vol. vii. No. 2), shews that the old opinion that Ephraim undoubtedly used the Peshitta version of the Gospels is probably incorrect, and at any rate cannot be proved. The fact that there are no certain quotations from the *Peshitta* before the fifth century and that there are hardly any quotations from any other version besides the Peshitta after the first quarter of the fifth century, seems to point

conclusively to the time of Rabbula's Episcopate (411-435 A.D.) as the date of the issue of this version.

And so Dr. Hort's conjecture that the history of the Syriac versions is parallel to the history of the Latin versions has received a strong confirmation in the finding of S. C and S bear much the same relation to one another and to the Peshitta version as the manuscripts of the Old Latin do to one another and to the Vulgate.

We have little doubt, then, as to the correctness of Mr. Burkitt's view with reference to the respective dates of the Peshitta version and the Diatessaron. But when we consider the proposed date for the origin of the Old Syriac version—or what he styles the Da-Mépharreshe—we are on very uncertain ground, and though Mr. Burkitt's conjecture that it was made under Palut about the year 200 A.D. is a tempting one, at present we prefer to think that the translation was made earlier than this, and that the Diatessaron was not the first form in which the Gospels were known to the Syriac-speaking people. Dr. Hjelt's theory has still much to recommend it—that the Da-Mépharreshe is an older version put forward in the epoch of Addai and Aggai before the Diatessaron reached Syria and that the several Gospels were perhaps the work of different translators.

But it is no easy matter to decide how far our manuscripts—S and C—are faithful witnesses of the Old Syriac version. They may have undergone revision from later Greek manuscripts, and they may have been amended to agree with the Diatessaron, which for a time became so popular in the Syriac Church. It is in studying the two manuscripts to find out how far they have suffered alteration in transmission from the original that we recognize the superiority of S. There are places where S has probably been altered to agree with the Diatessaron, as *e.g.* in John iv. 25, 'Lo, the Messiah cometh ; and what time he hath come, everything he will give' ; but S contains none of the so-called Western interpolations, and does not appear to have been amended from any later Greek manuscripts.

On the other hand, C contains at least four of the greater interpolations which must have come into it from a Greek manuscript of the fourth century or later—and there are other signs, too, which shew that C has suffered from the influence of later Greek manuscripts, and has also suffered a great deal from the influence of the Diatessaron.

The chief importance of these conclusions is the light which is thrown in this way upon the problem of the Western text and

the fact that a value is thus given to the Old Syriac version, so far as we can get at its original, as a witness wholly independent of the Old Latin version. According to Mr. Burkitt it is the *Diatessaron*, geographically a Western version, which has brought about the agreement between the Old Latin and the Old Syriac versions in many readings which are intrinsically improbable. This view makes the theory which was put forward some fourteen years ago by Dr. Sanday and Dr. Chase—that the home of the Old Latin version was in Antioch—unnecessary and improbable. The simple explanation, according to Mr. Burkitt, of the agreement between the Old Latin and the Old Syriac in corrupt passages is not to be found in a common corrupt ancestor, but in the influence of the *Diatessaron*, which, made in the West under the influence of Western texts, was brought to the East and had a corrupt influence on the Old Syriac version.

On the whole, we find that there is a fairly close agreement between S and the *NB* text; but it is obvious that, if Mr. Burkitt's view be correct, then in cases where the Old Latin and the Old Syriac (where original) agree, we have a double witness to the true text which may be used to modify or correct the *NB* text in cases where it differs. But further and very careful study of the text of S to purge it of its *Diatessaronic* influence will be needed before we can venture to use the Old Syriac text with confidence as a separate witness to that of the Old Latin.

At the end of vol. ii. the editor has appended several notes on select readings. There is a long and interesting note on Matt. ii. 16-23, where the Sinai Syriac has the reading 'Joseph, to whom was betrothed Mary the Virgin, begat Jesus called the Messiah,' and this Mr. Burkitt thinks is the original reading of the Old Syriac. This seems probable, but, as he further points out, it is merely a matter of literary criticism and not of historical fact. There is no doubt that the two points which St. Matthew wishes to impress upon his readers in chaps. i. and ii. are the physical reality of the birth of Christ from a Virgin and the legality of the descent from David. And these points are not affected by any reading in the Sinai Syriac.

There is another good note on Matt. xxii. 16, 17, on the reading in S of 'Jesus bar Abba,' which Mr. Burkitt is inclined to accept on the ground of transcriptional probability, textual authority and internal appropriateness. A note on Luke xxii. 17-20 is also worthy of mention, where the editor decides in favour of C as representing the more original text of the Old Syriac in this

place, though probably neither S nor C gives an uncorrupted text.

We have studied the book with increasing admiration for it as a valuable contribution to the textual criticism of the New Testament, and as usual Professor Burkitt has succeeded in putting what he has to say before us in an interesting and lucid style, which ought to make the two volumes of considerable value not only to Syriac scholars, but to all who have more than a superficial interest in the ancient versions of the Gospels.

The Social Teaching of St. Paul. By W. E. CHADWICK, B.D.
(Cambridge University Press, 1906.) 3s. 6d.

THIS is, we had almost said, an excellent book, but 'verbo peccavimus uno'; it is, rather, an excellent note-book. Not that the author is a bookmaker who works with scissors and paste; far from that, he is a thorough student who has read well and widely both on the Bible and on sociological questions, who has digested his reading carefully and arranged his materials lucidly, but who just wants the fusing power of genuine authorship which is needed for rising above his materials and welding them into an artistic unity.

His object is to shew how closely akin the teaching of St. Paul is to the principles arrived at by modern sociology; how in this, as in so many cases, revelation anticipates what the human mind subsequently discovers by its own independent analysis. That is a most fruitful way of regarding the revelations of the Bible, and it is worked out here with great care and soundness of exegesis with reference to this special point. The author first traces the influences which prepared St. Paul for his teaching on social questions and the effect of his conversion upon it. While gauging thoughtfully the effect of Stoicism in this direction, he rightly makes the predominating influence to be that of the Old Testament prophets. He then traces out the effect of the conception of the Messiah and of the Servant of Jehovah upon St. Paul's teaching. Both of these are shewn to involve the anticipation not only of a Person, but of a Society, of a Messianic society as well as of a Messiah, of a society of servants no less than of the one Individual Servant. The thesis is excellently expanded that, as in the second Isaiah, the conception of the Divine Servant narrows down from the whole people to a section of the people, and then, apparently, at last to a representative individual: so in the New Testament, the conception of the Divine Servant broadens

out, almost from the first, from the Representative individual—our Lord, Who fulfils in Himself, in His work, in His perfect self-sacrifice, all the manifold forms of Divine service—to the first circle of His followers, the infant Ecclesia, and then this Ecclesia is to be enlarged so as to be co-extensive with the human race. The main presuppositions of St. Paul's social teaching are next compared with the principles laid down as governing a true society in Professor Gidding's *Inductive Sociology*; and, lastly, there is a detailed examination of a few of the chief passages in St. Paul which bear on the relation of the individual to society (Romans xii. xiii. xiv.; Eph. iv.), and a comparison of St. Paul's sayings with those of our Lord Himself.

There are very few details which call for criticism. On p. 46, in referring to St. Paul's account of his own conversion, and suggesting that he may not at the moment have seen the consequences of it so fully as when he described it to Festus and Agrippa, Mr. Chadwick does not notice the fact that in Acts xxii. 14 St. Paul quotes the words of Ananias to him, and that these words carry us very deep into the heart of the later teaching. Again, on p. 54, the word 'quotation' is made to include allusions or adaptations of Old Testament language, which is rather a loose use of the word. Once more, we should have liked a rather fuller discussion of the relation of component to constituent societies (p. 99). The distinction is interesting and important, but perhaps scarcely so absolute as it here appears. If the Church is a constituent society and humanity a component society, it would seem that they could never be identified, although the aim of the Church is to become co-extensive with the human race. Is it not true that if humanity realized the purposes of God for itself, and devoted itself to their execution, it would pass from being a component to being a constituent society? It would be both, and have the advantages of both. Such a thought would build a bridge whereby the apparent dualism would be unified.

But the whole work is marked by accurate and thoughtful scholarship; it is based on stimulating conceptions of the relation of revelation to reason, of the Church to humanity, and of the individual to society, and we heartily recommend it to the clergy and to any students who wish to embark on a fruitful line of study. Let the writer find himself a little more fully, let him rise above his materials, and fuse them in his own power and in his own style, and we believe that he will produce work of real value for building up the kingdom of God.

II. MISSIONS.

The Foreign Mission Work of the Church. Addresses to Business Men. By the Bishops of London, St. Albans, Southwark, St. Andrews, and Stepney. (London : S. P. G. House, 1906.) 1s.

THESE short lectures, delivered to large gatherings of business men during the dinner hour, Dec. 4-8, 1905, in St. Laurence Jewry Church, Gresham Street, London, E.C., were designed to interest in missionary work the class which most naturally shrinks from it, and which, even when supporting it, is apt to be critical and exacting rather than enthusiastic. Their publication at the present time, when missionary expansion is so urgent, supplies a real want. Their tone is not emotional, but calm and reasoning ; their arguments should prove convincing to men who, while business-like even in religion wish to do their whole Christian duty, to enjoy their full Christian privileges. Perhaps (if any distinction may be made) those lectures which should most completely fulfil their object are No. III., on 'Our Duty with regard to non-Christian Religions,' by the Bishop of Southwark ; and No. V., on 'Our Privilege,' by the Bishop of Stepney.

The Mission of Help to the Church in South Africa. By the Rev. A. W. ROBINSON, D.D., Vicar of Allhallows, Barking. (London : Longmans, 1906.) 1s. net.

THE Mission of Help was a great event in the history, not of the Church in South Africa alone, but of the Anglican Communion as a whole. Then, for the first time, was the Mother Church seen giving of her very best to help and encourage a Daughter Church struggling with adversity—a scene which, with the writer of this book, we trust may be repeated in the not distant future, in more than one part of our Empire. Dr. Robinson's task was an unusually cheerful one, and it has been worthily carried out ; he has given us a clear, connected, and readable account of all that preceded and followed the Mission, of the principal events and methods of the Mission itself, and of its splendid results. We refer the reader to his pages for all details ; and would also draw his attention to Appendix A, on 'How Parochial Missions may be made more effective,' which, in the light of South African experience, certainly affords food for reflection.

Reminiscences of Robert Gray, First Bishop of Capetown; A Pioneer and Founder. By A. E. M. ANDERSON-MORSHEAD. With Preface by the Right Rev. ALLAN B. WEBB, D.D., Dean of Salisbury. (London: Skeffington, 1905.) 5s. net.

MISS ANDERSON-MORSHEAD'S book is a portrait of one of the greatest builders of the Church in our colonies, drawn at first hand, in popular form, by one who had the privilege of working under him in the latter years of his life. As such it should prove of permanent value, especially after the generation to which she belongs shall have passed away. For an admirable summary of its aim and purpose, we refer the reader to the preface by the Dean of Salisbury, and to these two sentences in particular :

'The author has done a good work in recalling to the minds of this generation the personality of a man whose character was of the rocklike heroic type, standing four-square against assaults on the Faith. More particularly the author has given us a vivid picture of the man himself in his fatherly relation, even to the weak and those out of the way, and as he was seen and loved in his own home.'

Add to these a short sentence by the author herself, 'Before all things Bishop Gray was a missionary,' and the outline of the portrait is complete, to be filled in by the perusal of her chapters in detail. The book undoubtedly gives the impression of hero-worship, and there is a little too much dwelling on the Bishop's wrongs, and the unreasonableness of his enemies, whether in South Africa or in England; but these are amiable weaknesses, nor is it less pardonable (in a woman-writer) that she gives perhaps excessive prominence to that which she herself knew best, the work of St. George's Home. Full of interest are her accounts of the good Bishop's missionary journeys, of his labours among colonists and heathen, of his organization of parishes and dioceses; but the main charm of the book is in the picture of his home life, of his relations with his many friends and indeed with all among whom he lived and worked—in its flow of anecdotes, especially of his ceaseless kindness to women and children, and to all in sickness or distress. No wonder that such a man left enduring monuments of his life and work, or that he was followed to his grave by five thousand people.

Sketches of Kafir Life. With Illustrations. By GODFREY CALLAWAY. With Preface by the Right Rev. ALAN G. S. GIBSON, D.D. (London : Mowbray, 1905.) 2s. 6d. net.

THE title of this book, while sufficiently indicating its real purpose, is a very modest one. As the willing reader turns over its pages, he wonders less and less at Bishop Gibson's remark in his preface, 'I do not know of any other book that has so truly caught the spirit of Kafir life.' The author's object is to arouse interest in Kaffrarian missions—the work in which, till invalided home, he spent many of his own best years—by giving a life-like picture of the people, in their relations both to each other and to the white men (missionaries, traders, Government officials, &c.) who live and work among them. And he has succeeded. No one can read the book without feeling that he has learned that the Kafirs, though black men and heathen, are indeed his *fellow-men*; that whatever their faults (and the writer, for all his tenderness, does not spare them) they are a loveable race, generous, hospitable, and loyal, able in some points (e.g. the orderliness of their public assemblies) to give a lesson even to white men; and better still, that once touched by the live coal of Christianity, they are capable of producing truly fine characters. Side by side with the weakness of some converts and the backsliding of others (as the chief Mtshazi) we read of men like Isaac Magudu or Kanyelwa, of women like Marita, of whom any European race might be proud. Some chapters (e.g. 'The Trader's Store') are as amusing as they are interesting; and it is pleasant to find how frequently in Kaffraria the sorely tempted trader is a help and not a hindrance to the missionary.

Between Capetown and Loanda. By the Right Rev. ALAN G. S. GIBSON, D.D., Coadjutor Bishop of Capetown. (London : Wells Gardner, 1905.) 3s. 6d. net.

BISHOP GIBSON's little work is, from an English Churchman's point of view, of historical importance. It describes two pioneer journeys, in the strictest sense, made by him in 1901 and 1903, through countries where previously no Anglican clergyman had ever been, viz., German South-West Africa and the Portuguese province of Angola. His object was to seek out English or English-speaking people throughout those vast territories, to minister to the scattered members of the Church's flock, and after fully ascertaining their needs, to endeavour to arrange

some permanent means of supplying them in the future. The last part of his design has unhappily till now been frustrated by the native rebellion in South-West Africa ; the former part was carried out in the two journeys related in this volume. Numerous families were visited by him in their isolation ; baptisms, confirmations, communions were administered ; services were held, sometimes under pathetic circumstances—e.g. one old man informed the Bishop that it was fifty years since he was last in church. We regret that we have no space for any of the details ; travelling by ox-waggon in those parts is always full of interest. The Bishop's narrative is plain and unadorned, and his account of the numerous friendships he made, and the hospitality he everywhere received, is singularly pleasant. May Providence speedily grant an opening for others to follow in his steps !

Adventure for God. By the Right Rev. CHARLES H. BRENT, Bishop of the Philippine Islands. (London : Longmans, Green and Co., 1905.) 3s. net.

HERE are the six 'Bishop Paddock Lectures' for 1904, recast and amplified rather than reproduced in printed form, by their author, the Bishop of the Philippine Islands. They go to the root of all missionary effort, whether at home or abroad, but especially the latter. They were popular at the time, and deservedly so ; for their tone is lofty as well as practical throughout. The spirit of the Bishop's exhortations is sufficiently shewn by the titles of his lectures. The first, 'The Vision,' shews one of the greatest requisites of any effective life, whether religious or otherwise, whether in the mission field or elsewhere ; it is defined as 'every form of idealism which is capable of fastening upon and controlling life for its enduring welfare.' The second, 'The Appeal,' dwells on the (conscious or unconscious) cry for aid from the heathen world, which to the ear of strong compassion seems to say, 'It is you who can best minister to me.' The third, 'The Response,' describes the answer to that cry, viz. the carrying of the Gospel to the *nations*, nay, even to 'obscure tribes and dying peoples,' pointing out how the sympathetic missionary will study the national, or tribal, characteristics of those to whom he ministers. The fourth, 'The Quest,' carries the same thought further, and shews how an essential part of mission work for Christ is the search for elements of truth in other religions, which are thus to be con-

quered 'by absorption and fulfilment.' The fifth, 'The Equipment,' describes that best preparation for mission work, which results from previous knowledge of the thing to be done; it dwells on 'the cultivation (1) of the imagination; (2) of the social instinct; (3) of the spirit of patriotism; (4) of the spirit of moral adventure.' The sixth and last, 'The Goal,' contrasts the end of the missionary career with its beginning, describes the chastened experience which comes from long years of suffering and apparent failure, and points out how the veteran's faith will endure to the end—how his heavenly vision, though it has changed its form, will never die. The book is full of illustrations—some from Scripture, some from modern life—for the most part admirably chosen. We do not hesitate to recommend it as a handbook for all intending missionaries, whether previously to their career in a training college, or during its course.

Christus Liberator; an Outline Study of Africa. By ELLEN C. PARSONS, M.A. With Introduction by SIR HARRY H. JOHNSTON, K.C.B. (London: Macmillan, 1905.) 2s. net.

SIR HARRY JOHNSTON, in his introductory scientific chapter, warmly commends the title of this book; and it is amply justified by its contents. No one can read its many descriptions of African heathenism and its horrors, or of the additional evils which civilization unrestrained by a Christian conscience has from time to time introduced—such as the slave-trade and the indiscriminate sale of ardent spirits—without feeling that here was indeed a continent in bondage, and that of such liberty as Africa has yet known Christianity has been the only parent. 'I unhesitatingly state my conviction,' says Sir Harry Johnston, 'that the missions which have preached Christianity in Africa since, let us say, 1840, constitute the one feature of the white man's invasion of this continent which history will rank as of unquestionable good.' The leavening process may be read continually in Miss Parsons' pages, whether large outward conversions have to be recorded or no; striking examples are the Livingstonia Mission, the Barotsi Mission, and (amid the infamies of European misrule) the Missions to the Congo State. The book gives the impression of being a satisfactory record of work for Christ in Africa, so far as non-episcopal missions are concerned; as such it has a real value, not only for Presbyterians and Nonconformists, but for Churchmen also, who do not perhaps always pay sufficient attention to other missions

than their own. Having said thus much, we have regretfully to point out its many defects. These arise, in the main, from one great fault—the author's indifference not only to Roman Catholic missions, but for the most part to those of the Church of England. Even C.M.S. work rouses her to little real enthusiasm, except in a case where enthusiasm is almost inevitable—that of the Uganda Mission. Bias of this kind is bound to render a book one-sided, and to detract seriously from its usefulness. Will it be believed that the great work of the S.P.G. in South Africa is dismissed in a single page, out of forty devoted to missions in those parts? Or that, with unpardonable ignorance, the author declares that the L.M.S. missionaries to Madagascar in 1818 were 'the sole possessors of the Gospel on the island,' whereas the French Roman Catholic Mission had been there since 1770? ¹ Results of this error are that Miss Parsons shews a strong prejudice against the French conquerors of Madagascar, and ignores the fact that they were widely welcomed as deliverers, and that the Hova rule, even when nominally Christian, was thoroughly corrupt and oppressive. Minor mistakes also and similar prejudices are too thickly sown throughout the book. It is a pity that a work, in some respects useful, should be marred by such grievous blots as these.

In and Out of Chanda. Being an Account of the Mission of the Scottish Episcopal Church to the City and District of Chanda; together with Papers, &c., by the Rev. ALEX WOOD, M.A. Edited by the Rev. E. C. DAWSON, M.A. With a Preface by the Most Rev. the Bishop of St. Andrews. (Edinburgh: Foreign Mission Board, 1906.)

THIS little book is a compilation on the subject of one of the most picturesque of Indian Missions, specially connected with the Scottish Episcopal Church. The race it chiefly seeks to evangelize are the Gonds, a half-primitive people dwelling in the beautiful forest-country of Central India, with Mahrattas and Telugus for their neighbours—their principal city being Chanda, once the seat of a Gond dynasty. They are very unlike the Hindus, though Hinduism has lately gained some influence over them; they have no real caste-system, no literature, they believe in spirits and in a supreme God; they drink intoxicants, they are often lazy; they are good-tempered and brave, they love

¹ See e.g. Tucker, *The English Church in other Lands*, p. 136.

hunting, and (in the jungle districts at least) are absolutely truthful. The book is well printed, is written in a clear and popular manner, and is full of interesting details and anecdotes, illustrating both the character of the people and the methods of missionary work among them. The district was once the scene of the labours of Father Goreh ; it is now energetically worked by the Rev. Alex Wood and the Rev. G. D. Philip, their lady-helpers and their native catechists, with the usual result of success, viz. that more men are urgently needed.

Church Work in Japan. Compiled by ALFREDA ARNOLD, Associate of the S. P. G. in the Diocese of Tokyo. With a Preface by the Bishop in South Tokyo. (London : S. P. G. House, 1905.) 2s. 6d.

BISHOP AWDRY'S personal request to Miss Arnold caused the production of this book. It is the work of a lady who has lived some years 'in missionary circles, engaged in missionary work herself, yet more free to travel than others,' and whose information is thus completely up to date—a thing which, in the Japan of to-day, is no easy matter. She has also wisely confined herself to subjects which she could treat more or less at first-hand. This has led to some unfortunate but necessary omissions, e.g. of the work in the Diocese of Hokkaido and among the Ainu ; otherwise this volume, though not intended for popular reading, is a valuable book of reference for all interested in our Church's labours among the Japanese. It is most varied ; every chapter, practically every page, is full of details. If we are to single out any chapters as of special interest, we may perhaps mention (1) those on Bishop Bickersteth's episcopate, (2) those on work in Tokyo, (3) those on work among lepers, police, and factory workers, and (4) last, but by no means least, that on the Japanese Prayer-book.

III.—SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC QUESTIONS.

Science in Public Affairs. Edited by J. E. HAND. (George Allen, 1906.) 5s. net.

Patriotism. By HAKLUYT EGERTON. (G. Allen, 1906.) 5s. net. *The Arbiter in Council.* (Macmillan, 1906.) 10s. net.

The Pattern Nation. By SIR HENRY WRIXON. (Macmillan, 1906.) 3s. net.

THE mutual courtesies of Science and Idealism are a sign of the times. The old antagonism of matter and spirit may not,

indeed, have been transcended, but now and again each may be detected holding out timid hands—*ripae ulterioris amore*. A full study, if such were here possible, of the group of books before us might, indeed, well borrow from recent fiction the title of 'The Dream and the Business.' The business is for ever claiming its right to dream and the dream protesting against the suspicion of being unbusinesslike.

In *Science in Public Affairs* we have, typically, Mr. Haldane's well-known aspiration after a scientific attitude in politics and Professor Sadler's familiar insistence on the power of ideas even in England. These are important features of the book, as is also a striking chapter on Science and Industry, with its suggestion that 'the cheap generation of industrial power upon a small scale or the cheap distribution for industrial purposes of energy generated from given centres upon a large scale is perhaps the most far-reaching industrial reform within reach.' While, however, there is much that is valuable in the work of other contributors, it cannot be said that anything like the same level is maintained throughout, either in thought or expression. The editor himself sets a bad example in such sentences as 'What of the conditions and life-expectation of the labourer—these no less than of the inventions for increasing his day's output?' But the tendency to sacrifice lucidity to speed or to some notion of the picturesque is most apparent in the chapter on 'Science and City Suburbs,' where we find, for instance, 'Many years ago it was deemed sufficient that those who had this world's goods should feel pitiful towards those who had them not, and that a generous heart could be safely left to its own instinct to "do good." Around this opinion, happily now dying, if not wholly killed by the scientific spirit, lie the bodies and souls of thousands of men and women who have been helped to their destruction or deterioration by kind hearts acting without thinking heads. But out of the ashes has arisen . . . the phoenix of a more excellent way.'

Not the least interesting passage in Professor Sadler's paper is the reminder that, as has been pointed out already in e.g. Leighton's *The Boy and His School*, the teaching of the school can, after all, do little against the influences of life outside, especially the influence of the home, if these be in revolt against it. The suggestion seems to be that even in the loss of direct control of elementary schools, the Church may find compensations if it knows where to look for them.

Incidentally, one is tempted to speculate on the psychological
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significance of the Professor's habit of thinking in fours. 'Within the United Kingdom there are *four* systems of National Education.' 'It will be agreed that the scientific movement has *four* chief aspects.' 'The scientific movement has affected education in *four* ways' 'May we not say that for hundreds of years *four* things have been noteworthy in the English way of approaching great affairs, &c.' And, finally, the enumeration of 'chief discouraging features in the outlook' stops at *fourthly*. A last quotation from this book may be commended to the notice of the author of the next on our list. 'The scientific movement in thought has brought about a change in the conception of national life, partly by suggesting the analogy (*it is at most an analogy*) between the organism and the State.'

Mr. Hakluyt Egerton's book is a courageous attempt to establish Patriotism on a definite ethical basis. The threatened attack on the 'categorical imperative' may not spare even so popular a virtue as this, and, at any rate, it is well to be prepared. Mr. Egerton's superstructure is better than his foundation. Starting with a literal acceptance of the view that the nation is an organism, he is at once confronted with the fact that its component parts are personal. To restore the unity involved in organic existence he dogmatically asserts that the 'consummative end' of the nation as organism is solely the full and free development of each of its component personalities, while these are held in relation to the whole by gratitude issuing in love. The account (at pp. 224 and 225) of the relation of patriotism to universal brotherhood is a fine example of what this writer can do at his best, and there is much in the book which will repay careful and patient study.

It is, however, impossible not to regret the use of a diction largely composed of such expressions as 'purposeful of work,' 'organic to,' and 'determined to itself,' 'a substantial existent,' 'elaborative,' 'varietal,' 'valuably,' 'Catholicly,' 'unitary,' not to mention 'quite similarly, too, is it with religion,' and 'a life more widely and richly communicant at the altar of history.'

In *The Arbiter in Council* we meet that old and honoured friend of our childhood, the politician of the 'Manchester School,' thinly disguised as nine professional and commercial gentlemen of to-day. The author has, with praiseworthy diligence, read and made notes with a single eye to a great cause, the cause of peace. So much material has he collected that he is able to divide it among a council consisting of a retired manufacturer,

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a newspaper man, a learned historian, a soldier, a sailor, a lawyer, a stockbroker, an ideal Nonconformist minister (bred up as a Roman priest) and a singularly unideal and ineffective representative of the clergy of the Church of England. It is matter for regret, but hardly for surprise, that no room was left for a single believer in the sad necessity of wars and armaments.

The author, perhaps, somewhat hampers his argument by parenthetical attacks on 'Chinese slavery,' fox-hunting, knight-errantry, monasteries, General Gordon, archbishops and bishops, and army chaplains; and our confidence in his accuracy and discretion is somewhat strained by references to 'The Catholic Churches,' to an archdeacon as 'a prelate,' and to Origen as 'perhaps the greatest of the early Fathers,' and by the somewhat daring commendation of a preacher who regrets that St. James did not write 'first *peaceable* then pure,' instead of 'first pure then *peaceable*.'

The book, however, contains much interesting and curious matter and some valuable *obiter dicta*. Such are the remarks at p. 236 on the obstacles to a really independent journalism and the curiously professional point (p. 222) that, roughly speaking, promotion by merit has prevailed in the upper ranks of the navy and interest in the lower, while the converse has been true of the army, a contrast not without effect on the value of expert advice in the Services.

The general argument would, surely, have been more convincing if fuller consideration had been given to the refractory facts. We have, for instance, to take into account peoples and creeds so far from recognizing the immorality of war, that they would endorse the admiration of Themistocles for the Persian game-cocks which displayed their courage in contests neither for home nor freedom but simply 'not to be beaten.'

In *The Pattern Nation* Sir Henry Wrixon discusses with seriousness and sobriety the ultimate effect of semi-socialistic legislation in advancing or retarding socialism proper. 'If,' he says, 'you leave people free, you cannot keep them equal,' and he thinks that, on the whole, 'When people have lived through the delusive experiences of semi-socialism and have come to that state . . . in which they must make a choice between freedom and socialism, they will choose freedom.'

This book, like the others under review, suffers from defective revision. Such expressions as 'felt imperceptibly,' 'a strata,' 'personal aggrandisement of the good things going,' are needless blemishes.

Intemperance. By HENRY HORACE PEREIRA, Bishop of Croydon.
'Handbooks for the Clergy.' (London : Longmans, Green and Co. 1905.) 2s. 6d.

It is one of the encouraging signs of the Temperance Movement that it now produces not merely letters and pamphlets, but books of solid value in their reasoned knowledge of the subject. The Bishop of Croydon's handbook is quite worthy to take its place not merely with the other volumes of its series, but also in spirit and knowledge with the best class of books on Intemperance. But this must not be held to imply that it has not obvious shortcomings. Its arrangement is not above criticism. Why should the text of the Act of 1904 appear in the chapter on the 'Causes of Intemperance'? What spirit of prophecy led Dr. Pereira to place 'the Brewers' Bill' in that context? No attempt has been made to remedy this defective arrangement by supplying an index. We can picture someone wishing to refer to that Act in a hurry, turning over frantically the pages of the chapter on Legislation, and, baffled in his search, casting the book aside as already out of date. It would have been better to place the text of Acts of Parliament in an appendix. Some useful references are given in various places to books and pamphlets dealing with different branches of Temperance work, but a carefully selected bibliography of the subject in an appendix would have been a valuable addition to a handbook.

Dr. Pereira tells us that though he has been directly interested in the work of Temperance Reform for over twenty-five years, the researches which this little book required have shewn that he had not half understood the real dimensions of the evil. Few people have any adequate conception of its magnitude. Statistics, for their understanding, demand a very rare type of imagination, and yet only statistics can suggest its dimensions. Hard facts brought officially to their notice made Reformers of a Mr. Ritchie or a Lord Peel, and terrible incidents made Crusaders of a Dr. Temple or a Miss Malverys, but the imagination of England at large is still untouched. To the average Englishman, as to Charles Dickens, the drunkard is a subject for humour rather than for shame. A sense of this led the late Bishop of Southwell to say that the production of a stirring Temperance song would be the greatest possible service to the cause. Who can measure what the 'Marseillaise' has done for liberty? Temperance, as Dr. Pereira shews, has enlisted the practically unanimous support of scientific opinion, and is

seeking to enlist as active agents our school teachers. Witness the petition of the 15,000 medical men to the Education Authorities of the Kingdom asking that instruction as to the nature and effect of alcohol may be made compulsory in primary schools. Even when a doctor says a word in favour of moderate drinking, there is sometimes a suspicion of irony in his definition, as in that of Sir William Broadbent. 'The odour ought never to be recognized in the breath ; if it is, too much has been taken.'

The scientific treatment of Temperance carries with it a danger of ineffectiveness. Books and men whose survey of the subject involves a review of the contributory causes of drunkenness lose something in directness of utterance. Dr. Pereira does not wholly escape. He quotes with approval that 'Crowding is the main cause of drink and vice.' But while Mr. Booth's authority is almost enough to silence criticism, we cannot but remember with disquiet the uncertain note in which Mr. Rowntree in 'Poverty' speaks of Class D, the most prosperous artisan class. After all, the strength of Intemperance is sin—men like drinking and they do what they like. Nothing less than that front attack which convinces the conscience of the nation that drunkenness is a sin, and a man's own act for which he and he alone is responsible, will destroy the power of drink.

Is the evil of Intemperance increasing ? Like Mr. Whitaker, Dr. Pereira points to the averages of the consumption of alcoholic liquors since 1840 to shew that there is an enormous increase of drinking, in spite of the wave of sobriety which Chancellors of the Exchequer tell us has been passing over the country. Of his conclusion we are sceptical, and there is a fallacy underlying the figures. In parishes near the sea-coast old folk still survive who remember the days of smuggling, and their recollections shew that its suppression dates from the formation of the County Constabulary. It was possible to evade the Coast Guard and Excise officers, but the game ceased to be worth the risk when they had a trustworthy ally posted in every village in the rural policeman. The County Constabularies were established between 1839-59, just when the Excise returns begin to shew a steady increase in the consumption of spirits.

There are many things in Dr. Pereira's book worthy of the special attention of clergy. His advice for the successful carrying on of C. E. T. S. work is quite excellent. We hope that his chapter on 'Personal Responsibility' will be widely read and taken to heart. Many will be surprised to learn the extraordinary proportion of abstainers among the ministers of Nonconformist

bodies. The semi-teetotal pledge has done and may do great work in certain classes, but 'Little Drop' meetings are not understood by working men. We could wish that the Bishop had treated more fully and with greater sympathy the 'Public House Trust Companies' which seem to many to offer one of the most promising of practical lines of advance.

Christianity and the Working Classes. Edited by GEORGE HAW. (London : Macmillan and Co. 1906.) 3s. 6d. net.

THE dozen essays which go to make up this little volume are written from very different points of view. Among the authors are Church dignitaries like the Dean of Durham and Canon Barnett, as well as Labour M.P.'s like Mr. Crooks and Mr. Henderson. They are all very much in earnest, and all have had some practical experience of the subject under consideration. Their opinions, therefore, at least merit serious attention, even though we may not be inclined to endorse unreservedly any particular diagnosis of the present situation, or to adopt all the remedies proposed for our approval.

In approaching this question it should be recognized at once that the causes which produce infidelity or irreligion among the working classes are also operating in other directions. And the root of the whole matter is that these causes are more often moral than either intellectual, or social, or political. What Canon Barnett implies by 'the eclipse of faith' is more or less general in every class of society; and no class has a monopoly of religious feeling and spiritual insight. The significance of any religious defect among the working classes from the Christian point of view—whence 'each man counts for one, and nobody for more than one'—simply lies in the fact that they represent the vast majority of the nation. Some of the causes assigned in these essays for the 'failure of the Churches'—e.g., institutionalism, old-fashioned language, respectability, lack of democratic sympathies—have no doubt tended to aggravate the drift, but they are obviously inadequate to provide a complete explanation. The so-called 'Labour Churches' and the Salvation Army can hardly be charged with similar faults, and yet they have proved even more conspicuous failures in their attempts to develop religious character.

The truth is that, as Mr. Charles Booth has pointed out, the chief obstacle to Christianity is a certain 'moral incompatibility of temper.' 'What the classes above seek in religion is its

support ; what the working man fights shy of is its discipline. Working men have a far more exacting conception of its ethical obligations. They expect a religious man to make his life square with his opinions' (*Religious Influences*, vol. i. p. 89). It is noteworthy that all the writers refuse to admit the existence of any widespread antagonism to Christianity. 'So far as my experience entitles me to speak,' says Mr. Henderson, 'I can find no evidence of a general desire among workers to repudiate the general principles of Christianity in order to accept those set forth by Mr. Robert Blatchford in his *Clarion* articles, or in *God and My Neighbour*' (p. 118). And at the present moment it is worth while to quote Canon Barnett's remark that 'Christianity is tempted to patronise the Labour movement. Neglect is safer' (p. 113). In the past the Church of England has been justly exposed to the charge of being committed to the Conservative party ; it would be no less unfortunate, and even disastrous, if, in turn, she now became committed to the programme of any other political party, however democratic.

The Family. By HELEN BOSANQUET. (London : Macmillan and Co. 1906.) 8s. 6d. net.

THE importance of the family as a social institution can hardly be exaggerated. It is the family, as distinct from the individual, which forms the unit of the nation ; and one of the essential guarantees for a strong and vigorous nation is that it shall be made up of virile and stable families. We are, therefore, most grateful to Mrs. Bosanquet for her thoughtful and instructive study, and all the more so because, as she explains in the preface, 'An institution which needs no subscription list for its support, no committee for its management, which is both self-contained and self-propagating, seems so independent of our conscious efforts that we are apt to forget how large a part of human life is devoted to its maintenance, and how large a part of human life depends upon it for physical and moral existence' (p. vi).

The volume falls naturally into two parts. Part I. deals with 'The Family History,' and discusses the various theories that have been propounded to account for its origin, meaning and development. In Part II. 'The Modern Family' is carefully analyzed, and an admirable description is given of its proper functions, including its practical influence, economic, political

and ethical, upon social life. Here, for example, is an illuminating remark upon the economic functions of the family: 'In the Family, and in the Family alone, are combined the forces which determine the quantity of population with the forces which determine its quality; and without this combination the decay of a people is inevitable' (p. 232).

Mrs. Bosanquet is decidedly optimistic as to the future of the family, in spite of her clear perception of the dangers and difficulties which it must encounter in a period of severe strain and even alarming transformations. If, for example, she is asked whether there is anything in these days to correspond to the family tradition which arises from the possession of land, she replies: 'I think, then, it is no exaggeration to say, that wherever we find an industry of any degree of specialisation, as distinct from unskilled and unspecialised labour, there we may find to a greater or less extent a continuity of work binding the generations together, and affording a basis for continuous family life as real and firm, if not as tangible, as landed property itself' (p. 217).

It must be admitted that Mrs. Bosanquet raises many practical questions by the way without in every case providing a definite and final solution. And it may be felt that a larger sympathy than she seems inclined to entertain with what might be called socialistic tendencies is quite compatible with the most complete recognition of the highest claims of the family ideal. But the book as a whole is excellent, and altogether worthy of its grave and noble theme.

The Children of the Nation: How their Health and Vigour should be Promoted by the State. By the Right Hon. SIR JOHN E. GORST. (London: Methuen. 1906.) 7s. 6d.

BOTH the title of Sir John Gorst's book and its dedication seem to be significant of a somewhat narrow and partisan attitude. No doubt the State is responsible for the welfare of its children as well as for their parents; but it might have been explained somewhere that not all the children of the nation depend for health and vigour on the direct intervention of the State. And while it may be complimentary to the Labour members of the House of Commons to be assured of the author's belief that they are 'animated by a genuine desire to ameliorate the condition of the people,' the style of the remark rather insinuates that neither the followers of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman nor those behind Mr. Balfour are actuated by a similar feeling.

The volume contains a deal of miscellaneous information collected from various sources about the actual conditions of child life, and about particular methods of reform which have been applied by private enterprise or are proposed for wider adoption by the State. Sir John Gorst appears anxious to guard himself against the charge of being a wicked socialist. But while he is aware that most of the practical developments he has in view are only socialistic in the vague sense in which the Poor Law or Factory legislation is socialistic, he does not seem to understand that it is quite compatible with a firm conviction in collectivism as the ultimate economic ideal to fight shy of large charitable palliatives of the existing system (and public charity even more than private) which may have the effect of perpetuating it. What may be called sentimental socialism is apt to get in the way of the real thing, as, for example, has happened in Poplar.

On the question of feeding children at school Sir John Gorst decides against a general system of free food: not so much on account of its cost, as on the grounds that it would 'undermine parental responsibility' (he disallows this argument in other connexions), might be parsimonious, and could not be immediately adopted by Parliament. He is inclined to recommend the French *cantines scolaires* for our model. As an alternative, there is the proposal of the Committee on Physical Deterioration, viz. that children who may be specifically defined as 'retarded' by malnutrition (perhaps about 122,000, or 16 per cent. in London), might be dealt with in special schools of the Day Industrial Schools type, in which feeding should form an essential feature.

In loco Parentis. By the Rev. M. G. VINE. (London: John Murray. 1905.) Price 2s. 6d.

THERE is little in this book which is not obvious and obviously expressed: its interest is derived from the light which it throws on what the author calls Institutional Schools 'such as various orphanages and charitable institutions, and the schools certified by the Home Office or Local Government Board.' Such schools are managed on the lines of a boarding school, and it is gratifying to feel assured by this book that the same unselfish spirit and aim at many-sided life which are characteristic of the best 'public schools' are seen at work also in 'Institutional Schools.' The author is anxious (pp. 66-7) not

only to have regular official inspections, but also 'semi-official rehearsals of inspection' by some well-qualified person on the school committee or by a military officer.

The Child and Religion. Eleven Essays edited by T. STEPHENS, B.A. (London : Williams and Norgate. 1905.) Crown Theological Library, vol. xi. 6s.

THE Essays contained in this book are of very different value, and written from different points of view. The religious training of children in the Church of England and the Free Churches is divided between Canon Henson and Dr. Horton. The former here assumes the unusual *role* of the advocate of Anglicanism : he deals with the education problem, and tries in doing so to explain the Anglican clerical attitude on the subject. Dr. Horton is a clearer writer and his essay is all too short. Mr. Masterman contributes a thoughtfully written essay on 'the child and its environment': by environment he means the city life in which our population is now mainly massed. His point is a small one but well worked out. Professor Ladd, of Yale, analyzes clearly 'the child's capacity for religion,' and there is a temperate statement of the Baptist position by Dr. Hill of Nottingham. Rabbi Green's treatment of the religious training of children among the Jews is so interesting that one would fain have had more. Perhaps the most important article in the book from a philosophical point of view is Dr. Tennant's on the child and sin. The subject of sin is one which this writer has dealt with in Hulsean lectures published in 1902. He treats the question from the standpoint of evolution, giving up the old idea of 'a catastrophic first sin.' The line of argument which he pursues can be guessed from one or two quotations. 'The mere possession of appetites . . . is not a proof of defection from original righteousness.' 'The intensity of the young child's appetites is, biologically, a sign of future health and vigour.' 'Children's dislike of restraint upon pleasure, until developed intelligence discerns its reasonableness, is both natural and inevitable.' 'The inborn tendencies of the child are natural and non-moral.' 'The term "sin" and its derivatives can surely only be applied to the issues of the will.' 'The moral life is a race in which every child starts handicapped . . . when will and conscience enter, it is into a land already occupied by a powerful foe.'

IV.—THEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS.

Essays on Some Theological Questions of the Day. By Members of the University of Cambridge. (London : Macmillan and Co. 1905.) 12s. net.

It is natural to compare this collection of Cambridge essays with certain other collections of essays on similar topics which within the last twenty years have been published in the sister University : with *Lux Mundi* and *Contentio Veritatis*. We think that, for whatever reason, it is, despite many merits, less interesting to read than either of these (as also than the prototype of all three, *Essays and Reviews*) : perhaps for lack of the quality to which Oxford is sometimes by its critics censured for sacrificing thoroughness, the quality which is said to make Oxford a training-school for journalists. At the same time it would be very hard to prove that the Oxford collections, as a whole, despite their superiority in respect of this quality, fell short in thoroughness of the *Cambridge Theological Essays* as a whole.

Contentio Veritatis suffered in comparison with *Lux Mundi* from an incapacity which must always attach to a 'liberal' theology when compared with one which draws closer the lines of agreement among its supporters. Just because it was the aim of the writers of *Contentio Veritatis* to illustrate the possibilities of constructive work in theology apart from a strict adherence to a particular theological system, it was impossible for them to produce the massive effect which was easily within the reach of the essayists of *Lux Mundi*, whose design was to approach the various problems of religious life and thought from a dogmatic position, definable without difficulty, and held by all the contributors in common. The present volume occupies in this respect an intermediate position between its two predecessors. The reality of agreement is probably less than that which existed among the authors of *Lux Mundi*, but the appearance of it is greater than that among the contributors to *Contentio Veritatis*. This appearance is, we think, due to a certain ingenuity in the selection of the writers who were to treat of the various subjects discussed in the book. The general impression thus produced is one of large-mindedness without express divergence on particular points from what is commonly reckoned as the orthodox position.

The essays are introduced in an attractive preface written by the editor, Dr. Swete, the Regius Professor of Divinity. The distinguished economist Dr. Cunningham follows with a state-

ment of 'The Christian Standpoint,' able and broad-minded, but leaving on the present writer, at any rate, no very clear or abiding impression. Dr. Tennant, whose interesting researches into the history of the doctrine of original sin, undertaken in preparation for the Hulsean Lectures of 1901, have made English students of theology his debtors, comes next, and deals with 'Physical Science and the Being of God.' This essay is in some respects scarcely abreast of the recent course of philosophical thought in this country. It is true that Dr. Tennant, in agreement with the 'pragmatists,' observes that the 'postulate theory' in epistemology 'seems destined to replace the *a priori* doctrine of Kant' (p. 81). Some of us might be inclined to demur to this, but no doubt the view in question is now widely held both in England and abroad. But 'realism' is perhaps not so much out of court in philosophy now as the writer supposes; while the basing of theology on 'idealism' (as on p. 88) will not commend it to many vigorous thinkers of to-day, especially in Dr. Tennant's own University, and requires a fuller defence than he has thought necessary to afford it. The teaching of Prof. James Ward is taken too much on trust; important as in many respects it is, it is by no means beyond criticism. It is a small matter, but on p. 62 Dr. Tennant appears to know less of Sir Oliver Lodge's views than might have been expected, considering the communicativeness of that distinguished physicist. The essay ends weakly. A deeper view of the place of evil in God's world than that which takes it as a by-product of the self-accommodation of God to finite minds—such, for example, as that adumbrated in the great hymn 'O felix culpa,' does not come within the ken of the author.

Prof. Caldecott treats of 'Philosophy and the Being of God.' With his rejection of mere subjectivism in religion we are entirely in agreement; but he has not always avoided falling into language which, taken literally, implies an extreme subjectivism, though it is no doubt capable of being explained otherwise. Thus on p. 106 he says that the mind (*i.e.* it would seem, the individual subject) 'does not go out beyond itself.' If it does not, how does it come to think of 'other minds' at all? What follows this passage turns to some extent the edge of this criticism; Dr. Caldecott does not really suppose that one starts philosophizing as a 'solipsist,' but the phraseology used undoubtedly gives an advantage to the solipsist (were there any such person) of which it would be difficult afterwards to deprive him. Philosophical writers are sometimes too ready to assume that one can

start from a solipsistic position and afterwards transcend it ; but could anyone who was once as a matter of fact in such a position ever transcend it at all ? On Dr. McTaggart's plural Absolute Dr. Caldecott has some pertinent criticisms (p. 137). Is not, by the way, the use of the expression 'within' in the account of the Hegelian dialectic on pp. 128, 129 somewhat misleading ?

Dr. Duckworth's clear and interesting essay on 'Man's Origin and His Place in Nature' scarcely touches religious problems, but hands them over to 'philosophers and theologians,' with the instruction, it is true, not to introduce the notion of a 'Fall of man.'

Dr. Askwith writes of 'Sin and Atonement.' He has a good discussion of the problem of freedom ; and in his account of the Atonement he does not, with Westcott and Prof. Gwatkin, speculate on the possibility of Incarnation without Atonement. He owes something, it is probable, to Abelard ; perhaps also something to the late Dr. Moberly.

Canon J. M. Wilson's essay on 'The Idea of Revelation' is sometimes unfortunate in language ; for example, in its use (on p. 228 n.) of the word 'objective' to mean 'revealed through phenomena' as opposed to 'subjective' in the sense of 'revealed through personality.' This is far too widely divergent from the accepted usage of the words in philosophy to be useful. But on the whole this is a quite admirable essay, though it does not touch the difficulty of relating the author's conception of revelation, superior as it is to those which he criticizes, to his conception of a perfect personal Divine consciousness.

The difficult subject of 'Prayer and Law' is discussed by Dr. A. W. Robinson. This is a careful but an unconvincing performance. 'It is to be remembered,' he remarks (p. 275), 'that, when such thinkers' (such thinkers, that is, as aim 'at eliminating from their minds everything like anthropomorphic bias, and at reaching a standpoint as far removed as possible from human limitations')—'when such thinkers present us with their conclusions, they are still *their* conclusions in spite of all their efforts to depersonalize them.' But such words strike, in fact, under the modest guise of a proper sense of human limitations, at the root of all science whatsoever, and can, if logically carried out, lead nowhither but to scepticism.

To Dr. J. O. F. Murray is assigned the discussion of 'the Spiritual and Historical Evidence for Miracles.' He too is insufficiently careful to avoid the slope that inclines towards

scepticism ; like many apologists, he makes far too much of Huxley's agnosticism as a stick with which to beat objectors who hold that miracles are *a priori* incredible. But apologists who lean upon Huxley are bound to find him pierce their hand ; as no one was better aware than that great controversialist himself. Had Dr. Murray paid more attention to the danger we have indicated, he would perhaps have made it clearer whence, on his own principles, arises the 'antecedent improbability' of alleged miracles which he mentions on p. 323. He is rash too in his remark that a believer in God 'is more sure of the capacity of man's moral judgment to determine what is or is not worthy of the character of God, than of his intellectual qualifications for deciding a question of scientific probability.' For what could be more 'antecedently improbable' to a believer in a righteous and merciful God than many undoubted facts as to the historical circumstances attending the spread of the Gospel, for example by the Spaniards in the New World ? We do not mean to suggest that a moral agnosticism, such as some apologists have suggested, is a permissible kind of theodicy ; but only that the moral problem is no simpler than the intellectual, and that it is not possible consistently to be agnostic in the latter and not in the former sphere. Dr. Murray's essay is, however, not (we venture to think) distinguished for the logical connexion of its arguments. Thus on p. 332 he ignores the point that St. Paul's claim to have shared with the earlier Apostles the experience of having seen the risen Lord may reasonably be held to weaken his testimony to a bodily resurrection. There is certainly no good reason for doubting that he did believe in a bodily resurrection ; but no one would now regard as evidence in favour of such a resurrection, his own experience on the road to Damascus, which yet he does not shew any indication of distinguishing in kind from the other evidence to which he appeals. The whole essay strikes us as highly unconvincing ; nor does the writer seem to enter with intelligent sympathy into the spirit of the modern educated man's difficulty with regard to miracles.

Dr. Barnes deals with 'The Permanent Value of the Old Testament,' and the Bishop of Ely with 'The Gospel in the Light of Historical Criticism.' The tone of the Bishop's essay is excellent ; but its reasoning strikes us as profoundly unsatisfactory. Speaking of the Fourth Gospel, he dwells in an interesting manner on the support given to its representation of our Lord by one fact, that no part of the Gospel narrative is

found in pastoral work to make so intimate an appeal as that which is peculiar to the Fourth Gospel. This argument is a strong one for the religious value of that Gospel ; but the question at issue is surely not whether the Christ of the Fourth Gospel is the Christ of religion—there can scarcely be any doubt of this ; from the times of the art of the Roman catacombs at least no Gospel has contributed so much to the picture of our Lord cherished in the heart of the Church—but whether the Christ of the Fourth Gospel is the Jesus of history. In dealing with the dialogue on Psalm cx. 1 recorded in the Synoptic Gospels the Bishop seems to overlook the fact that an 'infallible' Christ, in the sense of one who made no error as to historical matter of fact, of whose sayings there was no 'infallible' record preserved, would be quite uninteresting to us, and that were there no such record, the purpose of *such* an Incarnation would be frustrated. But the whole attitude implied in the Bishop's discussion of this subject is surely unnecessary in view of the fact which he states so well on the next page, where he says of the Apostolic writers : ' They rely not on their own remembrance or on the living tradition of the words of Christ, but on the Spirit of Christ to guide them to a right judgment on questions of belief and of conduct ' (p. 389). On the subject of the Virgin Birth of Jesus it is interesting to notice that Dr. Chase throws overboard the *a priori* likelihood on which defenders of its historicity often lay so much stress ; and that, while he gives reasons for believing in the fact, he nowhere discusses (what is to many the more important question) its rank as an article of faith.

The Bishop's essay is followed by one by the Master of Pembroke, good from the point of view from which it is written, on 'Christ in the New Testament : the primitive portrait.' He makes an excellent remark when he says (on p. 432) that 'no estimate which reduces the life of Jesus Christ to that of an ordinary religious leader will meet the requirements of historical science. The nucleus for the legends, if legends there were, must be sufficiently great to have gained acceptance for the legends.'

Canon Foakes-Jackson's 'Christ in the Church : the Testimony of History' is an interesting and a broad-minded treatment of its subject ; but the thinking in it, as also that in the following essay (Mr. Bethune Baker's on 'Christian Doctrines and their Ethical Significance') often strikes us as loose. Is it, by the way, quite true to say of St. Francis (p. 478) that his personal fascination 'has inevitably decreased as time went on' ? Has it not

indeed had a very remarkable revival in our own time? And does not the account of St. Paul's original 'fanaticism' go considerably beyond what our knowledge warrants?

The Master of Trinity closes the volume by an eloquent and characteristic essay on 'The Christian Ideal and the Christian Hope,' in which perhaps, however, he does not sufficiently bear in mind the truth which he states on p. 592, that 'an essay is not a sermon.'

We cannot, on the whole, but regard this collection of essays as a disappointing contribution to our theological literature. The authors are scholars of high and deserved reputation, but so much of the thinking in the book is at once loose in texture and characterized by a certain hardness and externality that it will, we greatly fear, fail either to convince or to attract the majority of those with whom it pleads.

Visitation Charges delivered to the Clergy and Churchwardens of the Dioceses of Chester and Oxford. By W. STUBBS, D.D. (London: Longmans.) 7s. 6d. net.

SINCE these Charges were republished two years ago and previously, we have dealt at considerable length in these pages with the work of Dr. Stubbs as an historian—work by which his name will always be remembered. Stubbs the historian is known of all men, and none will deny his greatness. But as to Stubbs the Bishop, opinions have differed considerably; and it was, we think, inevitable that they should do so. He was often misunderstood: he refused to be organized, and could not, because he would not, be fitted into any ordinary episcopal mould. It seems to us that it may be an advantage, therefore, after a certain lapse of time to call attention to a side of his work as Bishop with which we have not hitherto dealt.

Bishop Stubbs was happy in the commencement of his episcopate. Chester was one of the last dioceses in England to be affected by the new conception of the duties of a bishop. The change had come with Bishop Jacobson; but though it is impossible to overstate the reverence with which he and all the influences of Deeside were regarded, he was too cautious and austere to impart a lively impetus to the work of the Church. And he became bishop late in life. He must always have been old for his age, but though he was two years senior to Bishop Wilberforce, he came to Chester almost at the end of Wilberforce's long reign at Oxford. Thus, when Dr. Stubbs was consecrated, there was an eager desire for a more genial and active administration of the diocese, and it was not

disappointed. The four years of his Chester episcopate were full of happy and successful work ; it was said by a competent lay observer that in them he had accomplished more than had been done in the thirty-six years of his two predecessors. The one Charge which he delivered at Chester was not his least successful performance, and was followed by the audience with marked attention.

It is, indeed, like its Oxford successors, singularly free from the leaden commonplaces with which the discussion of the public interests of the Church is too often burdened. There are principles clearly stated and an abundance of exact information, easily drawn from the Bishop's wealth of knowledge, on points concerning which his hearers would have had much difficulty in ascertaining the facts for themselves. And he speaks always with conscious authority, as a master of many subjects. There are not only opinions given on points of law, but also evidences of deep legal erudition ; it is a greater merit that amid the discussion of constitutional details the higher sanctions of ecclesiastical polity are steadily borne in mind. There is sufficient proof of a knowledge which Dr. Stubb's used studiously to disclaim, that of philosophy ; but in truth his denial was as transparent as Gibbon's profession that he knew no theology. And with his wonderful knowledge there is the caution and the charity it had taught him. He confesses that he had not much enthusiasm ; he allows that the moral evil of schism, affecting personal character, comes to an end with the first generation of separatists. He impresses upon the clergy, though not in such unconventional language as that in which he clothed the advice to his candidates for Orders, that they should abstain from writing letters to the newspapers, and declares that for him the weekly religious newspaper was a weekly religious trial. There is generous wisdom in his defence of free education, made as it was at a time when the gift was widely regarded with suspicion by those who had shared the endowments of school and college. It is, indeed, remarkable how many are the tokens of true liberality in one who was the most uncompromising of Conservatives ; or rather, as he would have held, how tenacity was rewarded with independence of thought. The most striking of his protests against modern tendencies, his emphatic adherence to Liddon in regard to Biblical criticism, is strongly and fully expressed in these Charges. The grave eloquence with which he makes it is characteristic of the writer. We doubt whether his merits as a writer of eloquent prose have been sufficiently recognized. Yet his readers find in him not only occasional passages of striking felicity but a sustained dignity which harmonizes well with his frequent use, direct and indirect, of

Biblical language, and especially of that of the Psalter. He has in fact, what few writers attain, a rhythm of his own, unmistakeable by those who are familiar with his works.

These Charges, for many reasons, and not least for the insight they give into a great personality, were well worth printing. And they were worthy of being printed with the scrupulous accuracy and completeness characteristic of Dr. Stubbs' own workmanship. It was a grave error to omit, in a volume of which much of the interest is biographical, all account of the Bishop's own pastoral labours, on the ground that they were 'local.' It is a more serious matter that we should have been denied the verdict of such a man upon his contemporaries who had passed to their rest. In their measure, his obituary notices would have had equal value with those of Dean Church, which have happily been reprinted in his collected essays. Nor is the humbler part of the editor's task well done. There are slips of the pen which might perhaps have been silently corrected in the press; there is at least one most unscholarlike misprint, and the volume is issued without summaries at the beginning or index at the end, though it is one which imperatively required an index and would have well rewarded the labour. Yet these Charges stand as an impressive witness to the manifold goodness and greatness of their author.

The Church and Commonwealth ; the Visitation Charges of the Right Rev. George Ridding, D.D., First Bishop of Southwell.
Collected and edited by his wife, LADY LAURA RIDDING.
(London : Edward Arnold, 1906.) 14s.

THE late Bishop of Southwell, though never popular in the sense of being prominently before the eyes of the general public, was eminently popular in the better sense of being one whose good opinion was greatly coveted by those with whom he had to deal. Whether as Headmaster of Winchester or as Bishop of Southwell, he made a deep impression upon all who knew him well, and upon many who knew him but slightly. The causes of such an impression are seldom easy to trace, and can seldom be conveyed adequately in words, but may be summed up, though vaguely and indefinitely, as consisting of the possession of *character*. Bishop Ridding was eminently a man of character, and his words carried weight less from their intrinsic merit than from the sense that they were the expression of a high and forcible character, and a powerful and independent intellect.

Such are the qualities which may be looked for, and will be

found, in the volume of the Bishop's *Visitation Charges* which has just been published under the careful editorship of his widow. Those who were acquainted with Bishop Riddings will know what to expect in it and what not to expect ; but for the sake of those who approach the book without such knowledge it may be as well to spend a few words on this point. The Charges are not eloquent. They are not emotional. They are not always easy reading. They will not commend themselves to extremists of any party, and least of all, perhaps, to those who hold advanced views on matters of ritual and ceremonial. But they can be most confidently recommended to anyone who cares to see a number of important questions affecting the Church dealt with in a singularly fresh and vigorous style by one who approached them in an independent fashion and gave utterance to no opinion which he had not made thoroughly his own. There are no *clichés*, no conventional truisms, in any part of Bishop Riddings's writings. Even if (as must often be the case) the thought to be expressed is one which has often been expressed before, it comes from his mouth in a new form, which, while it may not in itself be preferable to the ordinary form, obviously comes direct from the speaker's mind and carries the impress of his individuality. It is this characteristic which makes his writings at once so difficult and so stimulating. At every step the reader is forced to think, in order to catch the full gist of the closely packed sentences ; and in being thus forced to think he is obliged to lay his whole mind to the subject under discussion.

The Charges contained in this volume are five in number. The first, in 1887 and 1888, dealt with a large number of different subjects, and with none at any great length ; and it has the appearance of being rather disjointed, through the omission of many passages containing diocesan statistics of various kinds and matters of only temporary interest. The second Charge, in 1892, was delivered shortly after the conclusion of the Lincoln trial, and embodies a very thorough and highly valuable examination of the Sacrament of Holy Communion, of the ceremonial connected with it, and the principles which underlie that ceremonial. This examination, which includes discussions on such controverted points as Fasting Communion, Non-communicating Attendance, Evening Communion, Incense and other details of ceremonial, is perhaps the most important section of the whole book, and cannot be read without profit by anyone who is willing to consider the subject dispassionately, and in the light, not of prejudice, but of principles and history.

The third Charge, in 1896, includes a similarly searching examination of the principles and historical basis of Church law, and a statement of the position of the Church in regard to the nation, and the duty of the clergy in connexion therewith. It deals also with a great number of subjects which happened to be opportune for discussion at the time (the Education Bill of 1896, Church finance, Church organization, and the like), and one section is devoted to some singularly vigorous and plain speaking on the claims of the political Nonconformists, which is doubly strong as coming from one so liberal in mind and so free from party prejudices as Bishop Ridding. The fourth Charge, in 1900, has for its principal subject the accusations of lawlessness then (and since) often levelled against the Church ; in connexion therewith it treats of the recent decision, or 'opinion,' of the Archbishops, and discusses several of the matters dealt with in that decision (the observation of rubrics, celebrations of Holy Communion, Reservation, Incense). Subsequent parts of the Charge deal with Anglican Orders and the whole idea of the ministry, the effects on the ministry of the Cambridge Evangelical and the Oxford High Church movements, and with the Sacrament of Holy Communion as a means of grace. It is in this Charge, perhaps, that the fullest expression of the Bishop's views on the spiritual character and work of the Church of England is to be found ; and it is a Charge which deserves to be read with close attention. Finally, the fifth Charge, which was left partially prepared at the time of the Bishop's death in 1904, and which has already been issued separately, has for its subject or motto, 'Reasonable Service,' or the rational principles underlying the services of the Church. The sections actually written (though not finally revised) treat of Fasting Communion, Church Synods, and Biblical Criticism ; and these fragments, unfinished though they are, have the suggestiveness and stimulating power which was characteristic of all Dr. Ridding's teaching.

It is perhaps noteworthy that, with the exception of the few pages on Biblical criticism in the unfinished final Charge, no part of these official deliverances deals with those matters of literary criticism and scholarship which might have been expected to interest a 'schoolmaster Bishop.' Nor, although there are occasional references to Church schools, does the subject of education hold a prominent place in them. The principles underlying the celebration of Holy Communion, and the position of the Church and her ministers with regard to the nation at large, are the topics which appear to have been most in the

Bishop's mind when he addressed his clergy at his visitations. It is impossible, within the limits of a short notice, to discuss his views in detail. It seems more serviceable to indicate the subjects with which the Charges deal, and the general characteristics of the Bishop's treatment of them. It is possible that they will be criticized by those to whom they do not appeal, as being too severely intellectual, as deficient in spiritual fervour, or, again, as lacking in appreciation of liturgical tradition. The last criticism may be admitted for what it is worth; for the others, there is no doubt that the treatment is primarily intellectual, not emotional, but the critic must be strangely blind who does not see the spiritual character which lies behind the intellect. Spiritual fervour and appeals to the emotions are excellent in their proper times and places; but it is pure gain to the Church that it should have the full and loyal service of a strong and independent intellect, and that the great questions by which its peace has been disturbed in this generation should be submitted to an examination which, though intellectual, is not merely intellectual, but is the work of intellect suffused with spirituality.

In the case of a book which can easily command popular interest, it is legitimate for a reviewer to lay some stress upon its shortcomings; but where, as here, both the topics and the treatment make a higher demand upon thought and concentrated attention than the ordinary reader will respond to, it seems right to emphasize more strongly the sterling value of the book and the stimulating power to be found in it. And in justice to the editor it is right to add that it is furnished with a very full index and synopsis of contents.

Inaugural Lectures delivered by Members of the Faculty of Theology.

Edited by A. S. PEAKE, M.A., B.D. (Manchester University Press, 1906.) 7s. 6d. net.

THE Faculty of Theology of the Manchester University was inaugurated recently with a series of popular lectures, which have now been published in book form under the editorship of Professor Peake. In the first lecture Professor Tout expounds the ideals that were in the minds of those who took the chief part in the creation of the new faculty. The new Universities in England tended at first to exclude all theology from their schemes of study, but this attitude is already giving place to a realization that theology can be, and therefore ought to be, taught up to the point at which 'denominational' differences begin. London and

Wales have established examinations in theology, and Manchester has gone a stage further and provided for the teaching of theological subjects as well as for examinations.

'To bring about this result,' says Professor Tout, 'great sacrifices were necessary in more than one quarter. To many it seemed a grave danger lest the acrimony of sectarian strife should infect the calm current of academic life. To some the subject seemed unmeaning, and the profession that studied it to be losing its place in the modern world. To others there was the fear lest religious truth should be imperilled by the equal rights which all types of opinion must claim under such a system. But friends of theological science 'preferred to run any apparent risks that this course involved rather than see the "queen of sciences" shut out from the University altogether.' Manchester possessed one special advantage in the fact that in or near the city there are theological colleges representing every important religious denomination. By according recognition to the lecturers of those colleges the University was able to provide itself with a large body of teachers ready made. But it was thought desirable that every student should receive some part of his teaching within the walls of the University. A start has been made in this direction by making Comparative Religion an University subject, and lectures are also given at the University on Hellenistic Greek, Church history, and Old and New Testament Criticism and Exegesis. It is hoped that gradually the affiliated colleges will leave non-controversial subjects to the University, and specialize more in their own special departments.

To what extent is the ideal of an Interdenominational Theological Faculty practicable? The volume before us is, we suppose, an attempt to answer the question. It certainly tends to shew that a wide range of subjects of a theological character can be treated on non-controversial lines. The English Church is represented by Canon Hicks, who contributes a lecture on 'Christian Art in Relation to Christian History'; and the Principal of Ordsall Hall, who writes a useful paper on the 'Growth of Creeds.' Among the twelve lectures included in the volume, those of Professor Peake on 'The Present Movement of Biblical Science,' and Dr. Moulton, on 'The Greek Language in the Service of Christianity,' are perhaps the most striking. It is interesting to notice as a sign of the increasing attention now being given to deutero-canonical literature, that two of the lecturers have selected as their subject the Jewish

Apocrypha and the light which it throws on Jewish beliefs at the time of Christ.

There is clearly a definite limit to the possibilities of inter-denominational theology. As a foundation for definite denominational teaching it may be of real value, and the English Church would certainly be mistaken if it adopted an attitude of distrust or hostility to such experiments as the new Universities are now making. But, on the other hand, the Church must see that spiritual homes are provided where students who are reading for theological degrees at these new Universities can find the definitely Church atmosphere without which their theology must become academic and non-religious.

In one other aspect this volume is of interest. It represents an attempt to treat of theological questions in such a way as to meet the needs of 'those who, while interested in theology, are not theologians.' That the new Faculty should have begun its work by reaching out to this larger public is eminently satisfactory, and affords a happy augury for its future usefulness.

V.—HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES.

The English Church from the Accession of George I. to the end of the Eighteenth Century. By the late Rev. Canon JOHN H. OVERTON, D.D., and the Rev. FREDERIC RELTON, A.K.C. (Macmillan and Co., 1906.) 7s. 6d.

THE seventh volume of the *History of the English Church*, edited by the late Dean Stephens and Dr. William Hunt, should receive a special welcome from the *Church Quarterly Review* because it is mainly the work of Dr. Overton, who was for many years a contributor to our pages. Dr. Overton had often written of the eighteenth-century Church, and there was hardly an aspect of its life which he had not considered, and, it is hardly an exaggeration to say, illuminated. Here in his latest work he was as fresh as ever, and he had several new points to make and new illustrations to give of the character of English theology and religious life. The book as he left it was merely a rough draft, and it did not cover quite the whole ground; but, with the help of Dr. Hunt, whose knowledge of the whole century is almost unrivalled, Mr. Relton has made an excellent book from the materials placed in his hands. He has also added much matter of his own, and has so skilfully worked together with it what Dr. Overton had written that the book has no appearance of untidiness or want of arrangement. It is

conspicuously clear, as it is also, we feel, conspicuously fair. Dr. Overton had strong principles and convictions, and he felt about the eighteenth-century prelates and priests much as if he were living among them (as, indeed, in a sense, for many years he was); but he was a thoroughly just man, and he tried to be an absolutely fair historian. We believe that he succeeded; and there is no book to which we could look for a more conspicuously just and sober estimate of the age than that which is now before us.

Many criticisms in detail have by this time been passed on points of the book. We need not repeat them here; for, indeed, the only object of such criticisms on such a book is to ensure corrections for a second edition of what must long remain a standard work. We must, however, express our great regret that no notice whatever is taken of the Church in Wales. At a time of crisis in the Church history of the Principality, such as is coming upon it, it is a grave misfortune that, in a book such as this, the whole of the eighteenth century—that century in which the present discontents originated—should be ignored. It is of little use for our bishops to insist on the absolute union of the English and Welsh dioceses as part of one organic whole if historians will leave out of a history of the English Church any mention of the great and difficult problems of Welsh development and change. Dr. Hunt does not apparently intend to ignore Wales, for the last volume in his series contained a chapter devoted to it. Why, then, should he allow it to be left out of the present volume? The result is that we are left absolutely without account of how the Welsh Church came to be in the position in which she is to-day, and how the great Dissenting bodies came to influence so large a part of the Welsh population.¹

There is a cardinal error in this; for, indeed, nothing is so much needed to-day as to emphasize the fact of the essential unity of the Church, the Body of Christ, in different countries and among different races. In the eighteenth century it is not hard for the historian to see this unity. Over the whole Western Church there swept the same wind of philosophic

¹ So far as part of the subject is concerned, reference may be made to the articles in our pages, 'Welsh Methodism: its Origin and Growth' (*C.Q.R.* October 1903), 'The Church and Dissent in Wales during the XIXth Century' (April 1904), 'The Welsh Translators of the Bible' (April 1905), 'The Welsh Church during the XVIth Century' (April 1906).

movement, here drying up, as it seemed, all the springs of spiritual life, here stirring into activity schools of Christian defence, sometimes imperfect, sometimes erroneous, but all witnessing to the intense importance of the problems with which men were brought face to face. It is not to be forgotten that the century of Berkeley and Butler is also the century of St. Alphonso Liguori, of the Jesuit missionaries in Paraguay as well as of Wesley and Whitefield. The century was marked by a very deep interest in religious philosophy, more widespread perhaps than ever before or since. It was marked by a genuine outburst of missionary zeal, seen in India and America, in Germany among the Moravians, in England among the disciples of Whitefield. But it was marked also by a conspicuous decline in spiritual life, by an air of complacency in regard to moral problems which shewed itself in strange and different ways. The torpor of the beginning of the century gave place to a genuine zeal for reform, which was by no means—as we are inclined to imagine—confined to England. Italy felt the zeal conspicuously, from Naples to Turin, and prelates so different as Benedict XIV., Ricci, St. Alphonso, and Henry Cardinal of York, were stirred by it to action. There was a real attempt to organize parochial work as well as charity. In Germany it was the beginning of the age of Pietism. In Spain there was ecclesiastical reform; in France the reform was postponed till it became revolution. But the movement which affected all European countries was not really distinct in England. English life was differently constituted, and the enthusiasm came, just at the right moment, as one of religion and humanity, apart from political change. There can, indeed, to the serious thinker be scarcely any century of Church life more interesting or important than the eighteenth, because it affords so remarkable a study of cause and of effect. It is for this reason that we should wish to commend Dr. Overton's work, which contains an admirable series of biographical sketches and a set of vigorous portraits of men of mark, to a wider audience than that of England. German, and French, and Italian ecclesiastical historians would do well to read the tale of the eighteenth century in the English Church.

The Cambridge Modern History. Vol. IX. *Napoleon.* (Cambridge University Press, 1906.) Price 16s.

The editors of this work seem to have resolved themselves, as their task grows bulkier, into what the Germans would prob-

ably call a *Weltcentralgeschichtesuntersuchungscommission*. Lord Acton, the founder of the undertaking, was credited with very cosmopolitan ideas: all languages were equally intelligible to him, and all nationalities but factors in a world-equation. We think, then, that he would have rejoiced if he had heard that the Russia of Alexander I. was entrusted to the hands of Eugen Stscheppkin, Professor of Universal History at the Imperial University of Odessa; the War of German Liberation to Julius Von Pflugk-Hartung, Ph.D., Archivrath and Ex-Professor at Basel; that Professor Guillard of Zürich contributed two and a half chapters, Dr. Georges Pariet of Nancy two and Major-General Keim (retired) of the German army one.

Of English contributors to the present volume we find Mr. H. W. Wilson as 'Naval Specialist' (he is the author of *Ironclads in Action*, as well as of a quite astonishing contribution to a book called *The Great War of 1910* by a Mr. Le Queux); Mr. Wickham-Legg and Mr. Hutton of New College and St. John's College in Oxford, who write respectively on the 'Concordats' and India; Colonel Lloyd, R.E., on the Third Coalition; Professor Egerton on the Colonies; Dr. Holland Rose on the 'Empire at its height'; Mr. Gooch on Great Britain and Ireland; Professor Oman on the Peninsular War; Dr. Ward on the Congress of Vienna, and Mr. H. A. L. Fisher on the Codes, the First Restoration and St. Helena. No less than 120 pages are devoted to an exhaustive bibliography, which, we may say at once, is the most valuable portion of the work. We should like to see the bibliographies of all the volumes collected and published separately with a good subject index and a good personal index. This volume has 45 pages of index, by no means perfect or exhaustive, and the grand total of 946 pages is triumphantly reached. The fourth volume, which was the most recently issued, has actually passed the four-figure limit. An undertaking like this commands admiration for its mere magnitude and heroism. Yet, in spite of its magnitude, the compression is so great that no subject can possibly be treated with anything like adequacy; and, in spite of its heroism, the principle underlying the work is so faulty that a reviewer is bound to go on asking the question, *cui bono?*—for a good to whom? Not to the general reader, who will always prefer a consecutive narrative: if he is in want of one, he will naturally turn to Dr. Holland Rose's *Life of Napoleon*, a scholarly work in two substantial volumes. But surely the volume before us will appeal far less to the student, who wishes to get at the heart

of the truth on the period : will he not, *must* he not require references for every doubtful statement ?

The subject of the volume is Napoleon, and the editors tell us quite rightly, in the preface, that no period of history is so dominated by a personality as the first fifteen years of the nineteenth century are by that man. Yet a perusal of the book leaves us without any clearer conception of the Emperor's marvellous personality than we had before. One of the contributors alone—Mr. Fisher—seems to have any power of seizing the really salient points in his character. Nowhere have we discovered any weighty criticism of Napoleon's merits as a General, such as that given by Yorck von Wartenburg, or an administrator, such as that given by M. Sorel. Dr. Pariset indeed dimly discerns that the Emperor was 'ni Monck, ni Cromwell, César' ; but all the judgements on him have to be laboriously collected, by snippets, here and there ; and, as is naturally the case with such a multitude of contributors, there is little agreement among the estimates.

We have, however, a worse quarrel with the book than this. In one or two cases, notably those of Mr. Fisher, Professor Oman and Dr. Rose, we can feel sure that they have read the original authorities which they tabulate in their bibliographies ; with regard to the majority we think it just possible that they have mainly compressed Sorel, or Lecky, or Häusser ; and that any student who could write decent English could do it as well. And the compression required is so great as to render the dish in places almost indigestible. Mr. Gooch, for instance, who writes admirably, and has a perfect genius for compression, is obliged to cram into *thirty-five pages* the whole political and social history of Great Britain and Ireland from 1792 to 1815. Why do the first seven years of this period come in this volume instead of in the preceding one ? The result is that the writer is unable to discuss any of the really crucial questions. His work is scrupulously fair and colourless ; but it is merely Lecky, with all the *verve* strained away. One of the most vexed questions in English history is whether Pitt resigned in 1801 on the Catholic question, or because peace with France was necessary and he was not the man to make it. Mr. Gooch gives us no lead ; he merely *states* that the question of peace had nothing to do with the resignation. Again, the celebrated 'Cabinet minute of 1807' (it was not intended to refer only to advice on Irish questions), which is really the coping stone to the principle of responsibility of ministers to Parliament, is dismissed in a line. Mr.

Gooch tells us what Pitt did and what he did not, but he fails to see how largely that great man's shortcomings were due to the shyness and reserve in which he wrapped himself when dealing with his colleagues. His Pitt is not in the very least 'alive.' Nor is there a word in the chapter to unravel the difficulty as to the quarrel between Canning and Castlereagh—nothing to indicate that the former had been plotting against the latter for months before the crisis of 1809.

The mention of Castlereagh suggests an attempt to trace this great statesman through the volume. He first appears in Major-General Keim's account of the war of 1809, as fighting the celebrated duel with Canning ; no one tells us of his excellent work at the War Office, after the close of the Irish period of his life. No one tells us that the Walcheren expedition failed owing to the incompetence of commanders, chosen in Castlereagh's despite. Professor Oman of course sees further, and knows that Castlereagh was the true supporter of Wellington in the Peninsular War. The ex-professor of Basel tells us that he arrived at the Congress of Châtillon ; Dr. Ward, that he signed the treaty of Chaumont and supported France at the Congress of Vienna ; and, with the exception of a reference or two to his views on Indian questions, that is all, yes, literally all, that this massive book contains about the man who kept the allies together in the darkest hours of 1813-4, and who by his firmness was the real victor over Napoleon.

Let us turn to another subject—the Russian professor's views on the events of 1812. In the Table of Contents this chapter is headed 'Russia under Alexander I. and the Invasion of 1812.' In the text the heading is 'Russia and the Invasion of 1812.' Now here is a writer who probably could have told us something about the economic and social conditions of the vast Empire, and about its internal politics. He does indeed mention the liberal ideas of Speranski, and Alexander's early inclination towards them ; but then, after a confusion on his first page between the Bill of Rights and the Habeas Corpus Act (this is probably not a real confusion in his mind, but only very badly worded) he jumps at once to 1807. Even then he gives no indication of the two views which may be held about the treaty of Tilsit, and he hurries on towards the crisis. There is one line about Czartoryski's negotiations with the Poles, on the upshot of which was to turn the Czar's whole attitude to the coming war ; but there is nothing about the passionate anxieties and hesitations of 1810-11. The professor almost seems to think that

Alexander was the aggressor ! There is no word about Stein, who stiffened the Czar's back at the right moment. The Czar is indeed, to this author, merely a person who, at an unfortunate moment, 'began to take a turn towards faith in the Bible.' 'Napoleon was beaten because he tried to do in one campaign that over which he ought to have taken two.' The 'Patriotic War' (the Professor puts it, with a sneer, into inverted commas) merely gave to the national-conservative party complete supremacy in Russia. For the most glorious episode in the history of his own race this writer has no feelings at all. This was very possibly Lord Acton's conception of how history ought to be written ; but to us, fresh from the perusal of M. Vandal's great book (*Alexandre et Napoléon*), it sends a shiver down the back.

For real distinction, however, we may turn, with relief, to Mr. Fisher's brilliant chapters, especially to those on the Codes and Saint Helena. These almost redeem the volume, as Professor Maitland's contribution on the Elizabethan settlement redeemed an earlier volume. Like that writer, Mr. Fisher is philosopher and jurist much more than collector of facts ; but he has all the facts at his fingers' ends too. The picture of Bonaparte presiding as First Consul at the Committee of Codification would be hard to beat ; and the criticisms on the few archaisms which were ultimately retained in the Code are of profound insight. The chapter which tells us how the exiles of Saint Helena deliberately sat down to create the 'legend' is also most excellent, and the author does fair and substantial justice to Sir H. Lowe. One could wish that, for his account of the First Restoration (chapter xviii.), he had been allowed space to elaborate a little more the feelings of the rank and file of Napoleon's army in 1814—the hesitation and final treachery of Marmont, and the bitter disappointment of his regimental officers when they found themselves turning back from Essonnes towards Paris. Still this chapter compares not unfavourably with M. Henri Houssaye's great works on 1814 and 1815 (which is praise indeed).

In the course of such a brief review as this it is impossible to do more than touch upon one or two of the contributions. In the others *reference* may be found to nearly all the errors as well as the glories of the Imperial *régime* ; but it is *reference* only ; it is never a consecutive account. No one would gather from this volume what a colossal sham the Empire was, how execrable the finance, how cruel and devouring the conscription, how comic the Emperor's ideas of political economy, how base

the servility of the *haute finance*, of the converted Jacobins, and even of some members of the old nobility. The one unexplained case of genuine loyalty and affection for Napoleon in a really high-minded man is that of M. de Caulaincourt (Duc de Vicence); and no attempt is made to explain it by the compilers of this book. Indeed that *loyal serviteur* is scarcely mentioned. The sort of man Napoleon liked was Savary, who could be trusted to do any dirty work; 'he would kill his own father if I bade him,' said the Emperor. All the learning of the historians fails to better Lord Byron's *flair* for the true Napoleon:

'To think that God's fair world hath been
The footstool of a thing so mean.'

Cardigan Priory in the Olden Days. By EMILY M. PRITCHARD (OLWEN POWYS). (London: Heinemann.) 20s. net.

MRS. PRITCHARD prefixes to her book a list of the authorities which she has consulted. Her list savours a little of 'bould Plutarch, Neptune and Nicodemus.' Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, the Iolo MS., Matthew of Westminster, Bradley's *Highways and Byways of South Wales*, and Willis Bund's *Celtic Church of Wales* are all piled up together without any attempt to discriminate their value or to shew what is the author's indebtedness to each separate authority. The printer is no doubt responsible for the very odd error whereby 'Rees Cambro' is called into existence and made the author of a work on British saints, yet the error is one which we cannot help thinking would have been detected but for a certain inattention to precision of detail.

Coming to the substance of the book, the fortunes of Cardigan Priory are set forth with tolerable fulness, mainly by the use of extracts from records. Of these some of the most important are reprinted from Mr. Hart's *History and Cartulary of the Monastery of St. Peter of Gloucester*, others from unpublished documents in the Record Office and among the British Museum manuscripts. It is a little to be regretted that Mrs. Pritchard did not start with a rather more definite idea of the public for whom she was writing, and what their needs were likely to be. She is assuredly not writing primarily for those to whom material such as she deals with is familiar—for ecclesiastical scholars. Her book is, we take it, meant to appeal to those who take an intelligent interest in history, but to whom such headings as 'Valor Ecclesiasticus' and 'Taxatio Ecclesiastica' fail to

convey any definite idea. Some short explanation of what the documents really are to which the writer refers, and how they came into existence, would have been of no small help to ordinary readers.

On the other hand, it must be accounted to Mrs. Pritchard for righteousness that she is never discursive, and never attempts to beguile her readers on the way by any of those little would-be picturesque patches so dear to the heart of the local historian. The real weakness of her book seems to lie in this point: that while she knows her facts clearly and can place them methodically in order she sees little of their inner meaning or their connexion with general history. For her a fact is a fact, not an illustration of some widely operating tendency or comprehensive movement.

Yet the history of Cardigan Priory, like that of most religious houses, is rich in such lessons, and not less so in its suggestion of questions to which one can only give tentative and conjectural answers. Mrs. Pritchard assumes, on what seems to us rather inadequate evidence the existence in the fifth century of a religious house at Cardigan founded by St. Mathaiarn. The next evidence of any kind available is a grant of Holy Trinity *Church*, Cardigan, by Gilbert de Clare to the Abbey of Gloucester. There does not, however, seem to be any direct proof that the church so granted was a monastic foundation. Whether that be so or not, the incidents illustrate the fashion in which the De Clare supremacy in South Wales brought about an ecclesiastical connexion between that district and the see of Gloucester.

In the twelfth century we get at last on tolerably firm ground. In 1164 a Welsh prince, Rhys ap Gryffydd, recaptured Cardigan from the Normans and claimed, by virtue of such conquest, the right to cancel De Clare's grant. Now for the first time we definitely read of Cardigan Priory. There is nothing, however, to shew whether Rhys took possession of an existing house or founded one. But as none of the documents dealing with the house, nor Rhy's own grant of it, make any mention of the act of foundation, there is a strong probability that Mrs. Pritchard's view is correct and that the monastic house was extant in the time of De Clare and was made by him a dependency of Gloucester.

Be that as it may, Rhys at once put an end to the connexion with Gloucester by making the house a dependency of Chertsey Abbey. Such, in spite of intermittent protests from Gloucester, it remained to the Dissolution. Why Rhys should have selected

Chertsey does not appear. We can only take it as an illustration of the manner in which the ecclesiastical system of the Middle Ages, and especially the existence of the monastic orders, broke down local barriers and brought into being a spirit of cosmopolitanism.

The history of Cardigan Priory brings us into immediate contact with one of the most curious incidents in the treatment of religious houses by Henry VIII. In 1537 Chertsey was surrendered by its abbot, John Cordrey, to the Crown. This, however, was not at once followed by secularization. A new house was immediately established in the place of the lately dissolved Abbey of Bisham, or, as it is called in contemporary records, Bustlesham. Cordrey was appointed abbot of this new house, and to it were transferred as dependencies the Priory of Cardigan and also another Welsh house, the Priory of St. Mary of Beckekilharte (obviously an heroic effort to struggle with the name of Beddgelert) in County Carnarvon.

There is no evidence extant to shew what was the purpose of this belated foundation, so at variance with the King's general policy. Burnet takes the singular view that Cordrey was a Reformer who nevertheless held by the monastic system and intended to make the new foundation a house of true and well-regulated devotion. In any case it is somewhat startling to find a house founded as late as 1537 by Henry VIII. for the avowed purpose of 'praying for the souls of us and our late consort Jane.'

The life of the new foundation lasted six months. In all likelihood its existence was due to some personal intrigue which has left no trace in records. It is not impossible that Cordrey's appointment to Bisham may have been designed to reward his compliance in the matter of Chertsey. There the ecclesiastical history of Cardigan ends. The house was originally granted to Sir William Cavendish, then recovered by the Crown by agreement, and finally granted to the family of Philipps. The one interesting incident in the history of that family noted by Mrs. Pritchard is the marriage in 1647 of James Philipps with that remarkable specimen of the English *précieuse* Katherine Fowler, the writer of certain stupendously pedantic letters—one is quoted by Mrs. Pritchard—to Sir Charles Cotterell, member for the borough of Cardigan, wherein the writer, her husband, and Sir Charles figure as Orinda, Antenor, and Poliarchus.

A History of Dagenham, in the County of Essex. By the REV. J. P. SHAWCROSS. (London : Skeffingtons.) 10s. 6d.

A CLERGYMAN who has the zeal and the patience to collect the materials for a parish history deserves hearty thanks, and especially when, as Mr. Shawcross has done, he rescues from oblivion the aspect and the memories of a place which, like Dagenham, is rapidly being swallowed up by London. We can pardon, though we regret, the defects of his equipment. Like too many other local historians, he is untrained in regard to antiquities, civil and ecclesiastical, and often fails to interpret evidence which he has faithfully transcribed. But it is obvious that if he had understood his documents he would have been able to augment his store ; and it is lamentable to notice the clues which he has failed to seize. No doubt an author busily employed in the charge of a growing district must work at a disadvantage ; but antiquaries are a generous race, and if Mr. Shawcross had submitted his collections to the criticism of some more practised investigator, his labours would have been transmuted from raw material into finished history. At the present time especially, when the best talent is everywhere being devoted to the 'Victoria History' of the English counties, a writer who has so much to offer would have been certain of an ample return in guidance and suggestion.

However, though Mr. Shawcross is, as might have been expected, at his best in the latest period, he furnishes much that is interesting in detail concerning earlier centuries. Dagenham, a large and low-lying parish on the northern bank of the Thames, adjoins Barking on the east, and was a manor of that famous nunnery. It is noteworthy that Mr. Shawcross has found no trace whatever of its customs or the arrangement of its fields and commons. Before 1337, at the latest, it had been broken up into compact holdings in severalty, occupied by tenants for lives under the abbess and convent. The successive owners are difficult to trace in pages whose author is innocent of the knowledge of conveyancing. Only one family of importance has established itself in Dagenham—that of Fanshawe, founded by successful officials of the Tudor age. But it is interesting to observe that a substantial estate in Dagenham, now held by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, had passed before the dissolution of Barking to the Chapter of Windsor. Barking, like the sister convent of Shaftesbury, evidently suffered in the

very economical process by which that magnificent foundation of St. George was erected.

The well-endowed vicarage of Dagenham has had few incumbents of distinction ; among them was Rabbi Coleman, the Puritan. Sir Anthony Browne, the Elizabethan judge, endowed a grammar school at Brentwood with the rectorial tithe. The church fell down in 1800, and was rebuilt in 1805 ; happily some good monuments escaped destruction. Besides Parsloes, the stately Jacobean seat of the Fanshawes, the parish contains no building of interest, and it has no prehistoric antiquities. But its annals, like those of any other parish of some importance, are worthy to be read, if only for incidental light upon the manners of former days. It is pleasant, for instance, to learn that Archbishop Harsnett, while still at Norwich, received the bequest of a pack of beagles. If, as we trust, he hunted them, he shares an honour which we had thought belonged to Juxon alone. At present the parish is growing with a speed which constantly increases. Chadwell Heath, its northern extremity, had 1,600 inhabitants in 1895, and 6,000 in 1904. The village of Dagenham itself will be transformed if Mr. Shawcross is right in his prophecy that its bleak and lonely marshes will soon be excavated into docks. He hails the prospect with a pleasure equal to that which he derives from the incandescent gas-lamps in what were once quiet lanes, and from 'quick and agreeable rides to Ilford by the electric trams.' We cannot grudge this enjoyment of the present to one who has done his best, and not without considerable success, to collect the records of the parish in which he has served.

Gleanings from Venetian History. By FRANCIS MARION CRAWFORD. With 225 illustrations by JOSEPH PENNELL. In 2 vols. (London : Macmillan and Co., 1905.) 21s. net.

Venetian Sermons, drawn from the History, Art and Customs of Venice. By ALEXANDER ROBERTSON, D.D. With 73 illustrations. (London : George Allen, 1905.) 10s. 6d. net.

It would have been strange indeed if the practised pen of Mr. Marion Crawford had not produced an attractive volume of *Gleanings from Venetian History*. Given the chronicle of a thousand years of the most romantic power in Europe from which to select his materials the writer's chief difficulty must have been to condense them within reasonable space. If Mr. Crawford's pages are somewhat overcrowded until the

reader is satiated with a mass of facts rather than guided through a well-developed history, the fault mainly lies with the method adopted, which is inconsistent with a continuous narrative. Despite all drawbacks the reader is carried on to the close with unflagging interest, as he experiences once more the irresistible fascination of the lovely Queen of the Adriatic.

How varied and widespread is that fascination is illustrated by Dr. Robertson's sermons, whose subjects are suggested by *Stones of Venice* and shew how strikingly they appeal to Christian thought and teaching. Dr. Robertson rightly attributes the vitality and prosperity of the Venetian Republic to the spirit of integrity which animated its earlier years. It is, so far as we are aware, a new departure for a volume of sermons to be issued with pictorial illustrations. The seventy-three photographs here presented are extremely beautiful and strikingly appropriate, while the photogravures and other numerous engravings are an added charm to Mr. Crawford's pages.

Like most histories the story of Venice has been largely rewritten as the result of modern investigation. The old standard historian Daru is largely discredited, and Mr. Crawford refers us to the latest edition of Mr. W. C. Hazlitt's work for the most trustworthy record of the great sea power. Many prevalent misconceptions are corrected in the *Gleanings*. The conspiracies of Marino Faliero and Tiepolo are retold in the light of authentic evidence, the popular estimate of the Doge's authority, of the powers of the Great Council and the notorious Ten, of the Inquisition and the sumptuary laws are all duly restated. As the empire of Venice was gradually extended and consolidated, *Suspicion* became the master key of the persistent policy of the Government. Suspicion of every Doge lest he should conspire to make his rule hereditary, of every successful warrior lest he should attempt to become a despot, of every ambassador lest he should betray his country's interests to the foreigner, of every official lest he should divulge state secrets or connive at injury to the republic, of every woman lest she should influence husband or lover to its detriment. For all that, never was jealous and relentless mistress more implicitly obeyed. Never was a loftier tradition of patriotism handed down from age to age, or more faithfully maintained at the cost of absolute and unsparing self-sacrifice. The treatment accorded by the Republic to its officials failed for centuries to quench their fidelity and ardour in its service, and its

heroes left the prison cells, to which no crime but their valour and ability had consigned them, to renew victories which inherited so ungracious a reward.

Venetian life in its thousand forms is set before us in these *Gleanings*. The Guilds which regulated trade and art with minute severity, which compelled the greatest artists to be enrolled in the ranks of handicraftsmen, and protected the finished productions of artistic manufacture ; the social life at various stages of development culminating in the extravagance of the Hose Club ; the procedure of the criminal courts and at marriage celebrations, fairs and carnivals, all come before us. A marked feature of life in Venice down to the days of its decline was the place assigned to religion in every phase of its development ; but Venetian jealousy constantly rejected the interference of the Vatican. Roman Catholicism without the Pope was apparently the ideal of the Republic.

We should not omit to state that the *Venetian Sermons* are simple and evangelical, and Dr. Robertson's love for the home of his adoption so inspires him that he presents its lessons in very attractive form.

A Glossary of Terms used in English Architecture. By T. DINHAM ATKINSON, Architect. (London : Methuen, 1906.) 2s. 6d.

Two years ago Mr. Atkinson published a little book called *English Architecture*, and those fortunate persons who have carried it in their pockets while they rambled among churches, streets, and country houses till it begins to be the worse for wear will heartily welcome its companion volume for the way in which the author brings the life of the old days before us. This he does continually, and sometimes when we least expect it, for his observation is as keen as it is quiet, and his mind is stored with the literature of his subject as well as with memories of wood and stone and iron. The articles on 'College,' 'Library,' 'Monument,' and 'House' may be specially referred to among the longer articles, of which there are a good many in this little book, while the brief explanations of words are often marked by some new and interesting touch. One of the few faults to be found is that derivations are given or withheld somewhat capriciously : e.g. the unlearned reader needs the derivation of *Lychnoscope* if he is to understand its connexion with what has been already told him about *Low-side* windows ; and one derivation requires

the correction of a single letter, 'misereri' for 'miserari' (s.v. *Misere*). There are a few other misprints which might be corrected in a second edition, and we should like to see a certain number of terms added to those which are given. An article on 'Stone' would be of very great service. Appendices (why will Mr. Atkinson call them 'appendixes'?) are included on 'Saints' with their dates and devices; the names, dates, and works of English architects and the periods of English architecture; and further we have 'A Table of the Religious Orders in England and Wales at the Time of the General Suppression by Henry VIII.', in which a few of the figures given in the corresponding list at the end of the former volume are corrected. A word of praise must be said for the illustrations which will be to many not the least useful part of the book. Most of the drawings are new, and nearly all of them are excellent. The last one (fig. 265)—a whole page drawing—is particularly pretty. It represents a thirteenth-century coffin-lid with a cross upon it, with a strange device in the middle of the long limb, 'which may perhaps,' Mr. Atkinson thinks (p. 166), 'represent the cords by which a processional cross was steadied while being carried.' We should be inclined to think that it may rather be the initial X of 'Christus,' from an examination of the drawing. A good index completes a useful and delightful book.

Highways and Byways in Dorset. By SIR FREDERICK TREVES, Bart., G.C.V.O. (London : Macmillan, 1906.) 6s.

We have before us Sir F. Treves' pleasant gossip book about the most West-Saxon county in England, and we have enjoyed reading it. Sir Frederick would probably be the last person to lay claim to any advanced knowledge of archaeology or history—his researches have lain in more useful and beneficent fields. But he loves his county, and we may be sure that the book will find a niche on the library-shelves of many a grey manor-house and rectory, by the banks of the Axe, Frome, Stour, and 'Puddle Piddle or Trent.' If he does not know his peasants quite so well as the authoress of *Dorset Dear*, he at least knows better than to revel in the squalid tragedies with which the morbid brain of Mr. Hardy has lately spoiled the promise of his early years. The illustrations, which at first we thought unpleasing, grow on us a good deal. Some however (e.g. that on p. 263, Charmouth from the Lyme Road) are positively comic. For special praise we would pick out Gold Hill, Shaftesbury,

p. 10 ; Lulworth Cove, p. 201 ; Sherborne, p. 305. Sir Frederick tells all the proper stories of the siege of Corfe, and the adventures of King Charles II. on his wanderings, though there is a slight mistake about the story of the blacksmith who shod his horse. What that worthy noticed (see Gardiner, *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate*, i. 459) was not that the 'horse-shoes had been put on in the counties about Worcester,' but 'that they had been put on in three several counties, one of them Worcestershire.' As Sir Frederick tells it, one loses the point of the story.

The author complains that Toller-Porcorum is singularly free from pigs : but we, the reviewer, can assure him that it has long been a favourite game with us to count the very numerous pigs within one mile on each side of Toller Station : the highest recorded score within the last fifteen years being fifty-four. It is a pity that he has failed to illustrate his account of Dorchester with a word on the first settlement of Massachusetts, which was practically the work of Dorchester men. The sieges of Lyme and Poole are inadequately treated. All the old stories about the Bloody Assize are swallowed whole, though Mr. Inderwick in his study of the 'Interregnum' has given grave reasons for disbelieving a great deal of them.

But these are trifling defects. The story of the Vicar of Wareham during the Civil War is admirably told. The author has a true feeling for scenery (see especially the charming chapter xiii. headed 'A Stretch of the Coast'—but why does he leave out the astonishing descent into Tyneham?), and he displays much humour in his account of George III. at Weymouth. We close the book with a feeling of gratitude to a man who can lead us through such pleasant scenes with so light a hand.

VI.—BIOGRAPHY AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Henry Sidgwick ; a Memoir. By A. S. and M. E. S. (Macmillan, 1906.) 12s. 6d. net.

THE life of Henry Sidgwick was passed at the centre of two of the highest interests of humanity in England—philosophical reflection and university education. In the latter he was, in effect, the leader of the reforms and extensions which marked the transition from the Cambridge of 1870 to the Cambridge of 1900 ; in the former he was one of the principal critics of English thought as it developed itself during that period. In

the latter field his influence at Cambridge was far surpassed by the influence he exercised through his contact with many of the leading minds in the higher circles of politics, literature and science, and by the books and articles which from time to time illuminated current discussion of philosophical problems. The bulk of his published work is very considerable, and various estimates of its permanent value are being formed. This is not the place for attempting anything of that kind ; our business now is to express thanks for the disclosure of his inner personal mind, for which we are indebted to Mrs. Sidgwick and to his brother, Mr. Arthur Sidgwick, in the Memoir before us. Some of the changes through which he passed in his religious opinions were known to everyone by reason of actions necessitated by them ; of others ideas could be gathered here and there from his writings ; but it was only if those specially charged with his confidences deemed it fitting to impart more to the world that we could have any right to know more.

To few philosophers have the kindest gifts of personal character and external circumstance been granted in greater abundance than to Henry Sidgwick. The Memoir before us is the record of a life of singular felicity in almost every important respect. Born in a cultured Christian home, endowed with intellectual abilities which commanded success at every stage of life, the head boy of Rugby passes into the Senior Classic and Fellow of Trinity at Cambridge ; associates intimately with the brightest spirits of the University ; and later with his sister married to Archbishop Benson, and his wife the sister of Mr. Arthur Balfour, is able to watch the inner movements of public life both in Church and State. His place in College and University work was soon a very prominent one, and his first published work, *The Methods of Ethics*, secured for him at once a leading position among the original thinkers of the time. We detect only two chequerings on the bright picture of his career : the vexatious delays to his appointment to his proper official position, the professorship of moral philosophy ; and the smallness of the school of philosophy at Cambridge. The latter was seriously disappointing and depressing ; obstructing circumstances beyond his control can be pointed out, but there remained also something due to the character of his teaching which was too critical, even where not negative, to enable him to rival Hamilton at Edinburgh or Green at Oxford. He recognized this, and laments it in some letters in this volume ; but his influence as a philosopher extended far beyond his class-

rooms even at Cambridge, while in the wider world his writings gave him audience extensive as a man could desire.

The volume before us contains many letters addressed to relatives and friends, and includes extracts from a journal in which for nearly twenty years he communicated with John Addington Symonds, while the Memoir of the events of his life is constructed by Mrs. Sidgwick and Mr. Arthur Sidgwick with explanations and reflections admirably elucidating their narrative. We see him as a man of great personal charm ; distinguished and welcome wherever he went ; brilliant in conversation ; combining erudition with cheerful wit. The very flower of integrity and honour, kindly and courteous, it is difficult to conceive that he ever had an enemy ; it is certain that by friends, colleagues, and pupils his memory is cherished without reserve among the inspiring influences of life.

As to his philosophy, all that can be said here is that Sidgwick stands as a connecting link between two marked phases of the English philosophy of Experience : between J. S. Mill and the wider and far deeper methods now prevailing. After a very brief sojourn within the circle of ideas marked out by Mill, Sidgwick resumed some Aristotelian and Butlerian factors and moved onwards until he came more nearly in sight of what Transcendentalism meant than Mill had even glimpses of. But Sidgwick was never able to do more than greet the supersensible from outside, and his final position seems to have been very much what is now called Pragmatism—the 'postulate' character of the ultimate ideas. In his *Ethics* he remained more markedly utilitarian than any other recent ethical leader, hoping that he conciliated intellectualism by acclaiming the egoistic and the universalistic principles as intuitional axioms. And in spite of his own drastic criticism of what the common opinion of mankind could do in the way of constructing a system of utilitarian rules, on the whole he was inclined to allow more value to 'common sense' as he grew older. It is notable, however, that, like Mill, he never gave a welcome to the conception of evolution ; he used it more than Mill had done, but it was never regarded by Sidgwick as a truly constructive philosophical conception. In political philosophy he was content to study constitutions and laws by close application of utilitarian method. At the root of all we see a very thoroughgoing individualism : few men of his range of thought have been less able to learn from others ; nothing really swayed him except what he could see and feel for himself ; an attitude for which, however, he claimed no

privilege, but scrupulously allowed to every other person. Hence we have in his writings chiefly a considerable volume of valuable criticism, with the thread of positive ideas of the character indicated above. Hence, also, we see in him no founder of a school, though in his *Methods of Ethics* we have a work which is likely to be one of the classics of English philosophy.

To his University work outside the limits of his professional teaching, Sidgwick devoted much activity, and always upon the side of widening the range of studies and extending the scope of the University. He advocated the new studies which Whewell had persuaded the University to begin to include; within classics he favoured the extension from pure scholarship to the study of history and philosophy; and in the extension of the University he worked vigorously for the removal of ecclesiastical restrictions in every direction, and for the University extension lectures and examinations; and he was the recognized leader of the movement for the admission of women to the University. In this latter enterprise he was persistent but cautious, and quite acquiesced in a Fabian policy; indeed the recent catastrophe to the movement would not have occurred, had not his advice (that the attempt to secure full admission was premature) been set aside. In the remodelling of the University of London he took great interest, and as a member of the Royal Commission was effective in shaping its present constitution. No history of the liberalizing of higher education in England can fail to assign a prominent place to this Cambridge philosopher.

The religious history of Henry Sidgwick as now disclosed to us offers many points of great interest. The son of a clergyman, and always in contact with the best Church of England influence of the 'liberal' type, intimate with such a Christian philosopher as John Grote and with the leading Cambridge theologians, Westcott, Lightfoot, and Hort, he yet declined in early manhood from adhesion to the Christian Faith. After much consideration he took the step of resigning his fellowship, which, though held by a lay tenure, had been conferred in the days of restriction; and later on his attitude prevented his succession to the Mastership of Trinity. Yet there was in him not a touch of the morose complaining which personal disappointment evoked in Mark Pattison, and nothing of the somewhat acrid temper towards the Church which pains the readers of Leslie Stephen. Rather he was always respectful and tender; and not a few of his pupils were able, in the midst of their high

regard for his teaching and for himself, themselves to remain Churchmen, and in several cases to proceed to take Holy Orders.

He was always pondering on two points of religious interest ; the practical question of what were the conditions of membership of the Church, which he discussed both in private and in public under the title of the *Ethics of Conformity*, and the question of the future life. It was in the interest of this latter problem that he became the inaugurator and leading spirit of the 'Society for Psychical Research.' His motive was to ascertain whether we could secure 'empirical evidence of the existence of the individual after death' ; he was not hopeful about it for himself, but he felt the need of the belief as an intellectual support for ethics, and respected its wide prevalence in the human race. Finding Frederick Myers bent on the same inquiry, Sidgwick encouraged him to set to work, and the Society started with an ideal president and an ideal secretary. Through Sidgwick's influence the inquiry secured many distinguished supporters, Tennyson, Ruskin, Gladstone, and Mr. Balfour Stewart, Adams and Lord Rayleigh ; while Mrs. Sidgwick became one of the principal workers in the cause. The twenty years of work have impressed differently those who have engaged in it ; for Sidgwick, on the whole, it did not produce more than a proof of telepathy, and a general opinion that science ought to take a more regular interest in the whole range of subjects investigated by the Society than the official tradition of the philosophical schools had for a long period permitted.

From membership of the Church of England we have noted his departure. Did it carry with it an eclipse of all Theistic faith ? Very nearly so ; but not quite. It left him wavering, but with a tendency towards Theism strengthening as the years went on. He certainly peered over into the abyss of blankness at the age of thirty-one, an abyss deep as Carlyle's Tophet, for into it even the moral ideal seemed rolling down. But this was a transient wavering ; for moral truth he soon was able to affirm his 'Everlasting Yes.' And gradually there arose a hope that behind the moral order there is 'a supreme principle of wisdom and benevolence, guiding all things to good ends,' . . . 'therefore I sometimes say to myself, "I believe in God," while sometimes again I can say no more than "I hope this belief is true," and I must and will act as if it was.' In these last words we have the note of the Pragmatism now so prevalent as to have become a definite theory of the nature of true belief. And there

are other indications that this was the final attitude to which Sidgwick's mind had come. A Theist, we may say, but not with any perception or intuition of a Divine personality; just the appreciation of the intellectual necessity for a transcendent source of a moral order in the universe, no more; in his own words (aet. 47) 'referring the Cosmos to a power of which we can predicate nothing except a general tendency to bring things out right on the whole.'

Judging by the many revelations of his inner mind given to us in this volume, and considering these in connexion with his philosophical work, we have before us a mind essentially of the empirical cast. Egoistic, in the sense of confidence in self as the seat of reason and the sole tribunal for the judgement of the truth that can be believed in and hoped for; Hedonistic, in the sense that nothing is deemed to be, ultimately, equal to happiness as the criterion of goodness, Sidgwick stands with Locke and Mill on one side of the great dividing line which so mysteriously runs, like a fissure, across the mental constitution of the human race. Locke, indeed, found ways of his own both to Theism and to Christian faith; and in Sidgwick there ran a deeper vein of the temper that leads to transcendentalism than there was in Mill; he had visions which left him wistfully regretful as he reflected on his inability to cross the line: 'My aspirations are the best things in me,' he said; and, as his death came comparatively early for a philosopher, we may think that he passed from us with his nature only partially revealed, even to himself. Certainly while he was running his course here he commended to other men's acceptance the truths which he discerned, and placed no bar across the path of those who were able to see other truths beyond.

Charlotte Brontë and her Sisters. By CLEMENT K. SHORTER.
'Literary Lives' Series. (Hodder and Stoughton, 1905.)
3s. 6d.

CRITICISM is almost disarmed by the author of this book when he allows that 'it may seem at first sight only an untoward accident, due to the exigencies of including all well-known names in a series entitled "Literary Lives." ' Far be it from us to call in question 'exigencies' so tremendous, if not illimitable. But we are obliged to confess that in the present instance they seem to us to have been met after a fashion alike dejected and dispiriting. Mr. Clement Shorter may, we suppose, be set

down as a Brontë specialist, and in his present effort has possibly succeeded in clearing up an additional corner or so in this sufficiently swept and garnished field of literary research. A great biography—great as a study of character, as a picture of a life, as a sympathetic appreciation of genius by genius, produced under the conditions in which Mrs. Gaskell's *Life of Charlotte Brontë* was written—as a matter of course needed revision and emendation; and above all, as the years went on, it required additions. But, though nothing is 'definitive' under the sun, the time arrives at length when the hundredth sweeping arouses but faint interest, and the glamour of the last discovery fades into the accepted daylight.

Not but that Mr. Clement Shorter is quite prepared to furnish his quota of deductions, particularizations, conjectures—even of principles of life and literature, rather than fail in pulling through. 'Charlotte Brontë's sojourn in Brussels made her an author'—how profound a reflection evolved from the fact that she had never met a man of intellect before her Brussels professor! 'Mr. Newby bound up *Wuthering Heights* and *Agnes Grey* in order to make them look like a single three-volumed book.' There is more against this caitiff publisher in Mr. Shorter's pages, and the sublime touches the ridiculous when we read that 'association with *Wuthering Heights* would probably be Mr. Newby's one literary distinction to-day were it not that one only remembers that he added additional bitterness to the always essentially unhappy life of Emily Brontë.' In the way of critical conjecture we are told that Emily 'learned German when in Brussels, and must have read the weird tales of Hoffmann'—as if his grotesque fancies had anything in common with the savage inspirations of *Wuthering Heights*; and that *Moll Flanders*—'a book which Charlotte Brontë had of course read'—contains a parallel to a passage in *Jane Eyre*. We feel reassured when confronted by such maxims as the following: 'Much more depends upon health in childhood than at any other time.' 'Genius is so frequently cruel in its portraiture, and with a certain ostrich-like quality super-added.' 'Biography'—though here theory joins hand with practice—'insists upon identification.' 'An artist cultivates emotions in order to make good copy out of them.'

The latest 'biographer' of Charlotte Brontë and her sisters is perhaps at his best as an interviewer—or at least he makes the most out of what he gleaned from Mlle. Héger (whose father was too ill to see him) and from Mr. Nicholls, notwithstanding

that he 'had his idiosyncrasies, as have most of us.' He is certainly at his worst in apophthegms such as one (so very hard on Sappho) that 'Charlotte Brontë was the first woman writer to whom the problem of sex appealed with all its complications.' Perhaps, however, such trumpery productions as this will have their market, so long as their argument can openly rise to a climax like the following: 'From inquiries I have made I am satisfied that while not, and rightly, holding the same vogue as do Scott, Dickens, and Thackeray, [Charlotte Brontë] comes next to them in general acceptance among the English novelists of the past.'

Ernest Renan. By WILLIAM BARRY, D.D. 'Literary Lives' Series. (Hodder and Stoughton, 1905.) 3s. 6d.

DR. BARRY adds little or nothing to the knowledge of Renan already possessed by those who know his works, but he gives an interesting and adequate, if somewhat rhetorical, sketch of his career, and his appreciation of the man is on the whole a true one. He does not conceal his profound dissent from Renan's main position, but he tries to be perfectly just to it, and he makes the most of what he is able conscientiously to approve. The impression which one gets from the book is that Renan was a literary genius, a sentimentalist and a dilettante; but not an historian, a philosopher, nor a scientific thinker. It can hardly be disputed that this is a sound diagnosis. But Dr. Barry fails to see that, if it be so, the use that he makes of Renan as a stick wherewith to beat the Revolution, the Third Republic, Biblical criticism, the French nation, and the modern spirit generally, is not convincing. If the *Vie de Jésus* is a work of the imagination based on arbitrary selections from the Gospels and German critical works, it is of little importance that Renan's hypothesis as to the Fourth Gospel was more or less 'conservative'; an hypothesis, moreover, as indefensible from the critical as it is unpleasant from the religious point of view. And, if we may say so, the statement that France is 'dying in a moral vacuum' strikes us as merely absurd. Renan did not live to see the remarkable moral and intellectual recuperation which has falsified his dismal forebodings and incidentally undermined his influence. For nothing could be further removed from the sceptical dilettantism of Renan's later years than the spirit of contemporary France. M. Paul Sabatier has rightly told the English public that the religious idea is not dead in France;

rather is France ripe for a re-statement of Christianity that will meet modern needs.

Had Renan been born fifty years later he might have supplied that re-statement, though there were elements in his character which make it doubtful whether he could have done so. Perhaps to some extent he prepared the way in the *Vie de Jésus*, in spite of all the faults of that book. Though it did harm to minds, alas ! unfitted by their training to grapple with the problems which it raised, at least it made the Gospel a 'modern book,' to use Dr. Barry's words, for a nation which had hardly read it. As it was, Renan ended as a reactionary dilettante holding aloof, in his intellectual contempt for the multitude, from the efforts which more obscure and ordinary people, with the faith in humanity that he had lost, were making to raise their country from the dust.

Perhaps Dr. Barry is more in sympathy with Renan in some respects than he is conscious of being. He reveals something of the same intellectual contempt, of the same want of faith in humanity. But his conclusion is an opposite one. The modern world is on a hopelessly wrong tack, and one must take refuge, not in Epicurean indifference, but in submission to Rome. In reality there are but two alternatives for logical and intelligent men, that chosen by Renan on October 6, 1845, and that chosen by Newman three days later. This is the moral of the book, never quite stated in so many words but always implied. Those who believe that God fulfils Himself in many ways will decline to be impaled on the horns of this dilemma, and will see even in the modern world of which Dr. Barry seems inclined to despair the working of God's providence.

Essays on Medieval Literature. By W. P. KER. (London: Macmillan, 1905.) Price 5s. net.

THE words which conclude the last essay in this book—that on Gaston Paris—are those which serve as the best criticism on its writer. 'There was no display, no emphasis in his style. But everything he wrote gave the impression of efficiency and sincerity, or rather of an intellectual magnanimity in which all the other excellences are included.' Simplicity of style, efficiency, sincerity, and broad-minded, scholarly appreciation are the qualities which stamp this work, as they stamp everything that Professor Ker has published. One has only to glance at the subjects of the essays to realize their wide range, but the

author is equally at home in the literature of England, France, or Italy, and each paper is distinguished by profound and, at the same time, unobtrusive scholarship. True, Professor Ker's attitude of mind is determined by his training and by his reading, but his opinions are the result of independent thought and original research. It is not possible to detach single passages from their context as satisfactory examples of his method. The essays must be read as wholes if they are properly to be appreciated for their insight and judgement. Yet a single sentence often opens up a whole field of speculation and offers matter for patient investigation on the part of the reader. The writer's criticism is extremely suggestive, condensed within the smallest possible limits so that each word is pregnant with meaning, and no epithet can safely be omitted from consideration, since each introduces a new aspect of the thing described. Thus, in speaking of 'The Man of Law's Tale,' he says: 'The story of Constance has hardly its equal anywhere for nobility of temper; but in respect of unity and harmony of design it is as *weak* and *uncertain* as 'The Knight's Tale' is *complete, continuous, and strong.*'

This conciseness of style is equally noticeable when the writer's admiration makes it—so he says—difficult for him 'to speak temperately' (in the case of Chaucer's 'Troilus'), and his self-restraint has its due reward. The appreciation is entirely convincing because it is always reasoned as well as enthusiastic, and because it is never allowed 'to interfere with his historical sense'—another point in which he resembles Gaston Paris, with whom he has much in common. There is no exaggeration in praise or in blame, nor is there any of the condescension in which minor critics occasionally indulge. The following extracts, dealing the one with 'The Man of Law's Tale' and the other with Mr. Macaulay's edition of *Gower*, widely as they differ in subject, serve equally to illustrate this sanity of judgement and eager recognition of what is good in its own kind :

'The poem has beauties enough to make anyone ashamed of criticism; yet it cannot be denied that its beauties are often the exact opposite of the virtues of Chaucer's finished work, being beauties of detail and not beauties of principle and design.'

'In dealing with Gower he has been compelled to turn to many things less attractive than the purely literary criticism of his author; he has proved that good sense in one department of literature is no disqualification for other kinds of study; and though he has probably less liking for philological investigation than for the historical

point of view, he gives the same steady attention to both. The old allegory of the wedding of Mercury and Philology has been too often belied by numerous relations of the lady ; it is satisfactory to find the parties, Wit and Learning, so well reconciled as here.'

The 'Historical Notes on the Similes of Dante' shew perhaps more clearly than any other essay in the volume the writer's use of the comparative method in dealing with details as well as with the broader aspects of criticism. The distinction drawn between the similes of Homer and Dante (on p. 50) is one of the most subtle and original passages in a book that is full of such delights. (*Cf.* for example p. 139, the comparison between Chaucer and Froissart, or the criticism on Lord Berners' style, p. 142, 'His very want of literary ambition saves him,' &c., and on the same subject, p. 151.) But perhaps the first essay, on 'The Earlier History of English Prose,' is, as a whole, the most masterly of all. It is familiar to students of English literature as the Introduction to the first volume of Craik's *English Prose Selections*, but its interest cannot be staled by repetition. Though it appeared for the first time so long ago as 1893, it has not been superseded by any longer or more ambitious work, and, unless Professor Ker will himself supply a more detailed study of the subject, this historical view, with its sound 'perspective of literature,' is likely to maintain its position. It is not difficult to believe that 'the critic who deals in generalities' of this description 'has not always the easiest time of it.' It is no small thing to review four or five centuries of English prose in some thirty pages, to observe due proportion and yet to keep the generalities from vagueness and to give them critical value of the first order.

The 'Essays on Medieval Literature' have all been printed before, but it is a pleasure to welcome them in their new dress. They are not light literature : they are written for students and scholars, and by them they will be estimated as they deserve. If readers have any complaint to make, it is likely to be that Professor Ker publishes so little.

A Great Archbishop of Dublin. By SIR C. S. KING, Bart. (Longmans, 1906.) 10s. 6d.

THE life of Archbishop King is better worthy of attention than the lives of many prelates whose biographies have been published in ponderous volumes ; and it is remarkable that it has

never been attempted on any considerable scale. The late Professor Stokes of Dublin gave some interesting lectures about his career, which were afterwards reprinted in a volume called *Some Worthies of the Irish Church*; and Professor Lawlor has also devoted a good deal of labour to the Archbishop's career, the fruits of which he has published; but a systematic biography was a *desideratum* to students of Irish ecclesiastical history, and we had hoped to find that Sir Charles King's new book would have supplied what was needed. We cannot say, however, that the editor has made the most of his opportunity, although we recognize his diligence and have to thank him, in particular, for reproducing a striking portrait of the Archbishop which was not known previously. Sir Charles King prints, in the first place, a translation—not always quite accurate—of the Archbishop's remarkable Latin autobiography, in which are set forth *Quædam vita meæ insigniora*. The picture which is drawn of religious life in Ireland in the reign of Charles II. is dark indeed :

‘Born in troublous times I heard scarcely anything concerning religion which I understood before my tenth year; then schools being established I made a commencement in letters, but learned little concerning religion, neither had I known nor heard anyone praying to God in secret, nor anything concerning the public or private worship of God, nor of the Catechism, Sacraments, Creed, Ten Commandments, nor of Worship on the Lord’s Day.’

This is an amazing statement, but the Archbishop's memory cannot have been altogether at fault as to the circumstances of his own boyhood. He goes on to say that he derived his first impressions of religion from his tutor at Trinity College, where he made rapid progress in learning. He was ordained for the diocese of Tuam, but was brought back to Dublin as chancellor of St. Patrick's at the age of twenty-nine. In this office he spent ten active years and was elected to the deanery in 1689. A sturdy opponent of King James II., he was imprisoned in Dublin Castle a few months later, and his copious diary of the events of that troubled time has been edited by Dr. Lawlor. His final release came after the Boyne, and he preached the thanksgiving sermon in his cathedral in the presence of King William. His services could not be overlooked, and he became Bishop of Derry, where he remained for thirteen years, succeeding to the archbishopric of Dublin in 1703, a position which he filled with signal advantage to the Church until his death in 1729.

King has been called the ‘greatest’ of the Archbishops of

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Dublin, and the description is just. He was a strong, learned, pious man ; and he lived at a time when the diocese of Dublin was sadly in need of reform. He feared neither the intrigues of cathedral chapters nor the opposition of interested politicians in his endeavours to do what was right ; and several churches now open in Dublin were built by his persistent energy. Such a life was worth writing, and we are sorry that it has not yet been written satisfactorily. The selections from the Archbishop's correspondence which Sir Charles King gives are, for the most part, to be found in Mant's *Church History of Ireland*, still an invaluable storehouse of information for Irish affairs in the eighteenth century. A few additional letters have been added from Mrs. Lyon King's MSS. (made known to the public in the Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission), but there is hardly anything from beginning to end in this substantial volume which is new, except a highly interesting letter from George Berkeley on the subject of his ordination as priest, which we do not remember to have seen elsewhere. Sir Charles King does not tell us where this letter is to be found, but it is, presumably, among Mrs. Lyon King's MSS.

Sir Charles King repeats the story of Swift's marriage to Stella 'in the garden of the deanery, St. Patrick's, Dublin,' thus reproducing once again an ancient blunder. The story, first mentioned in Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*, was that this secret marriage took place 'in the garden,' i.e. of the Palace at Clogher, where tradition still preserves the memory of the actual spot ; but Scott mistook Johnson's meaning, and most later writers have followed in his wake. Whether Swift was ever married to Stella or no, the ceremony did not take place in the deanery garden.

We wish that we could commend this book with less reserve, for it is evidently a labour of love, and much genealogical matter is accumulated in the notes which may be of value to future investigators. But the selection from King's letters is badly made, the references to sources of information are incompletely given, and the editor's occasional notes about the developments of Anglican teaching and ritual consequent on the Oxford revival are as silly as they are irrelevant.

The Letters of Warren Hastings. Transcribed in full from the Originals in the British Museum. Introduced and Annotated by SYDNEY C. GRIER. (Blackwoods, 1905.) 16s. net.

'He looked like a great man, and not like a bad man.' We all remember the words, at the critical point in Macaulay's famous

description of Warren Hastings on his trial. And now we know, as Macaulay might have known if he had taken the trouble to learn, and as James Mill before him might have learned if he had not been blinded by prejudice and party passion, that Hastings was *not* a bad man, but that he was not only among the greatest but among the best of the distinguished public servants whose roll is an honour to the British name. The vindication was begun years ago, and Sir John Strachey, in *Hastings and the Rohilla War*, Sir James Stephen, in *Nuncomar and Impey*, Mr. G. W. Forrest, in his publication of the Bengal documents of Hastings' administration, have had their part in making it. Now the able writer who calls herself 'Sydney Grier' comes to complete the work by the publication of the deeply interesting personal letters which have so long lain neglected in the British Museum. These were not in the hands of Gleig at the time when he was writing the 'big bad book' which Macaulay so unfairly condemned. They are of very high political and of still greater personal value. In the first place, they elucidate many difficult points in the political work of Hastings between 1780 and 1785, especially after the return of Mrs. Hastings to England. Secondly, they enable us to form a more complete estimate of the worth of Hastings as a man. They are full of intimate details as to his personal interests, his love of books and gardens, his abounding generosity, his charitable judgement even of bitter opponents, his deep religious feeling. The work of editing them has been done with very remarkable care and with very wide knowledge. The result is by far the best biography of Hastings, at least as to some fifteen years of his life, that we possess. It is a book which throws abundant light on the beginnings of British rule in India, the aims of the rulers, the social life of the British exiles, the religion and manners of the conquering race. The new light on English politics in general, and on the career of a very large number of public servants, undistinguished as well as famous, is hardly less welcome.

We are now within measurable distance of being able to write an authentic history of the first years of our rule in India under Lord North's Regulating Act. That history would be concerned with almost the whole of the vast peninsula, for Hastings' political and military schemes extended from Delhi to Lhasa, from Goa to the frontiers of the South-East, and there was nothing too minute for his investigation and interest. A whole volume might be written on the friendships of Hastings, and it would be full of most interesting side lights on the lives

of almost all the great lawyers and men of letters of his time. A study almost equally interesting might be made of his residences in and near Calcutta, one recently acquired by Lord Curzon on behalf of the Government of India, while another, in its present state, was described not long ago by the Rev. W. K. Firminger in the *Indian Church Quarterly Review*.

It is much to be hoped that this volume may be studied by all who are interested in the history of British India. We could wish that the author would add a second volume, dealing with the letters and diaries now at Worton Hall, and tracing more minutely the relations of Hastings with Cornwallis and Wellesley—his letter to the latter, printed in the *Rulers of India* Life of the great Marquess, is of great interest—and with his opinions of Sir George Barlow (whose name our author does not spell correctly, by the way) and later governors. But the book as it stands is of the first value and interest.

The Religious Opinions of Elizabeth Barrett Browning, as expressed in Three Letters addressed to Wm. Merry, Esq., J.P.
(London : Hodder and Stoughton, 1906.) 2s. 6d. net.

THE three letters which compose this little volume were written by Miss Barrett in 1843 to Mr. Merry, a friend of Miss Mitford, and author of a pamphlet on 'Predestination and Election. Mr. Merry's point of view was anti-Calvinistic, and he had invited comments from Miss Barrett. It cannot be said that the letters (of which only one deals with the subject at much length) make any important contribution to this well-worn controversy ; but they serve to illustrate once again the charm of the writer's character. Her intellect is too clear to ignore the difficulties which exist, but too sane to be driven by them into conclusions which shock the heart ; and with all her wide knowledge, even of the arid fields of controversy, she completely and unaffectedly avoids any display of pedantry. The letters were worth publishing, but the book is rather over-priced for its size.

Elizabeth Barrett Browning in her Letters. By PERCY LUBBOCK.
With a portrait. (London : Smith, Elder, & Co., 1906.)
7s. 6d. net.

THE occasion of this book was the centenary of Mrs. Browning's birth, and its final cause is to introduce readers to the large

edition of Mrs. Browning's letters and those of Robert Browning and Elizabeth Barrett, in which the same story is contained in greater fullness. A fresh and independent literary biography of Mrs. Browning, on the lines of Professor Dowden's life of her husband, using all these new materials but not confined to them, would have been a yet greater service to students of literature; but within its prescribed limits Mr. Lubbock's work is well done. The selections from the letters is made with judgement, and the connecting narrative is sympathetically and freshly written, though the editor cannot conceal his sense of the inadequacy of Mrs. Browning's utterances on the subject of Italian art. It is the best compliment to Mr. Lubbock to say that the reader will probably feel impelled to go on from his book to make acquaintance with the letters themselves upon which it is based. The portrait which forms its frontispiece is from a chalk drawing made at Rome in 1858 by Mrs. Bridell-Fox, which, to the best of our belief, has not previously been published.

PERIODICALS.

The Journal of Theological Studies (Vol. VIII. No. 29. October 1906. Frowde). Sir H. H. Howorth: 'The Origin and Authority of the Biblical Canon in the Anglican Church.' Dom R. H. Connolly: 'St. Ephraim and Encratism.' W. O. E. Oesterley: 'Codex Taurinensis (Y), VI.' A. E. Brooke: 'Sahidic Fragments of the Old Testament.' A. J. Wilson: 'Emphasis in the New Testament.' Bishop Gore: 'The Homilies of St. Macarius of Egypt.' F. R. M. Hitchcock: 'The Confession of St. Patrick.' E. S. Buchanan: 'More Pages from the Fleury Palimpsest.' E. O. Winstedt: 'A Note on Cosmas and the *Chronicon Paschale*.' C. H. Turner: 'The *Liber Ecclesiasticorum Dogmatum*.' Mgr. G. Mercati: 'A Supposed Homily of Eusebius of Caesarea.' MS. Brit. Mus. Or. 5001. Really of Chrysost. *In Dimissionem Chananeae*. C. Taylor: 'Traces of a Saying of the Didache.' 'Let thine alms sweat into thy hands.' Reviews. J. H. Srawley: 'Rivière *Le Dogme de la Rédemption*.' J. F. Bethune-Baker: 'Loofs *Nestorianae*'; 'Schlossmann *Persona und Prosopon*'; 'W. Barry *The Tradition of Scripture*'; 'Vollmer *Jesus u. das Saccenopfer*' E. W. Watson: 'Frere English Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I.' W. H. Hutton: 'Plummer English Church History Lectures, 1509-1649.' E. W. Brooks: 'Nau *Histoires d'Ahoudemach et de Marouta* (Patr. Or. iii. 1).' H. C. O. Lanchester: 'Touzard, *Grammaire Hébraïque*.' N. McLean: 'Nöldeke *Compendious Syriac Grammar* [E.T.]' G. E. Underhill: 'Jordan Comparative Religion.' R. H. Kennett: 'Procksch *Das nordhebräische Sagenbuch, die Elohimquelle*'; 'Daubney *The Three Additions to Daniel*.' H. L. Jackson: 'J. D. James *Genuineness and Authorship of the Pastoral Epistles*'; 'W. J. Sparrow Simpson *Our Lord's Resurrection*.' A. E. Brooke: 'Fouard *S. Jean et la Fin de l'Age apostolique* [E.T.]' W. L. E. Parsons: 'Paige-Cox *Aids to Belief in the Miracles and Divinity of Christ*'

The Expositor (N.S. Nos. 10-12. October-December 1906. Hodder and Stoughton). J. Ll. Davies : 'St. Peter : Correspondences between his History and his Teaching.' J. Rendel Harris : 'The Cretans always Liars.' W. H. Griffith Thomas : 'The Doctrine of the Church in the Epistle to the Ephesians.' W. H. Bennett : 'The Life of Christ according to St. Mark' (*continued*; also December). G. Adam Smith : 'The Jewish Constitution from the Maccabees to the End.' Sir W. M. Ramsay : 'Tarsus' (*concluded*) November. J. R. Harris : 'The Use of Testimonies in the Early Church.' A. O. Garvie : 'Studies in the "Inner Life of Jesus." XVI. The Foreshadowings of the Cross' (December : XVII. 'The Foregleams of the Glory'). R. Mackintosh : 'The Antichrist of II. Thessalonians.' C. H. W. Johns : 'Statistics of Sabbath Keeping in Babylonia.' F. W. O. Ward : 'The Stature of Christ.' H. G. Gray : 'A Suggestion on St. John xix. 14.' Sir W. M. Ramsay : 'The Permanence of Religion at Holy Places in the East.' S. A. Cook : 'Old Testament Notes.' December. Sir W. M. Ramsay : 'Professor Harnack on Luke.' J. R. Harris : 'The Pool of Bethesda.' J. Agar Beet : 'The Holiness of God and of the Godly.' D. S. Margoliouth : 'Biblical Criticism in the Eleventh Century.' J. Moffatt : 'Notes on Recent New Testament Studies.'

The Hibbert Journal (Vol. V. No. 1. October 1906. Williams and Norgate). L. P. Jacks : 'Church and World.' Sir O. Lodge : 'Union and Breadth : a Plea for Essential Unity amid Formal Difference in a National Church.' D. Macfadyen : 'Reunion.' D. Ffrangcon-Davies : 'Christ in Education : suggested by the Articles of the Bishop of Carlisle and Canon Knox Little on the Education Bill.' J. H. Muirhead : 'The Bishop of Birmingham and the Education Bill.' W. T. Seeger : 'Vital Value in the Hindu God-Idea.' J. Masson : 'Pierre Gassendi and the Atoms : an Episode in the conflict between Theology and Early Science.' H. Sturt : 'Do we need a Substitute for Christianity?' J. A. Hill : 'Psychical Research as bearing on Veracity in Religious Thought.' J. Gerard, S.J. : 'A Dialogue on Eternal Punishment.' R. H. Kennett : 'Jesus the Prophet.' A. Smythe Palmer : 'The Zoroastrian Messiah.' J. Collier : 'Phases of Religious Reconstruction in France and Germany.' M. Anesaki : 'Professor Carpenter on Japanese Buddhism' (*H. J.* April 1906). J. H. B. Masterman : 'First Principles of Faith' (*H. J.* July 1906). Reviews. A. Seth Pringle-Pattison : 'McTaggart *Some Dogmas of Religion*.' Lengthy. R. Latta : 'E. S. Haldane *Descartes*.' E. E. C. Jones : 'Henry Sidgwick : a *Memoir*.' J. W. Scott : 'Sturt *Idola Theatri*.' A. L. Lilley : 'P. Sabatier *À propos de la Séparation des Eglises et de l'Etat*.' W. J. Davies : 'F. G. Peabody *Jesus Christ and the Christian Character* and *The Social Question*.' R. H. Herford : 'N. Schmidt *The Prophet of Nazareth*.' J. Drummond : 'H. Hilgenfeld *Verzeichnis der von Adolf Hilgenfeld verfassten Schriften*.' St. G. Stock : 'James *The Genuineness and Authorship of the Pastoral Epistles*'.

The American Journal of Theology (Vol. X. No. 4. October 1906. Chicago University Press). A. H. Newman : 'Recent Changes in the Theology of Baptists.' 'From the apostolic time to the present there has never been complete agreement among Baptists (Antipedobaptists).' H. S. Nash : 'Religion and the Imagination.' W. C. Wilkinson : 'Are the Resurrection Narratives legendary?' J. W. Thompson : 'Vergil

in Mediaeval Culture.' G. H. Gilbert: 'Justin Martyr on the Person of Christ.' E. König: 'Shebna and Eliakim.' E. J. Goodspeed: 'The Harvard Gospels.' A collation of Gregory's 666. Reviews. H. P. Smith: 'Jordan Comparative Religion'; 'W. G. Aston *Shinto, the Way of the Gods*'; 'E. Hardy König *Asoka*'; 'Edmunds-Anesaki *Buddhist and Christian Gospels*.' K. Fullerton: 'J. Orr *The Problem of the O.T.*' E. L. Curtis: 'Orelli *Der Prophet Jesaja und Der Prophet Jeremia*.' S. Mathews: 'Brückner *Die Entstehung der Paulinischen Theologie*'; 'Bovon *Theologie des N.T.*' (almost monumental). W. J. Moulton: 'Jülicher Einleitung in das N.T.' (sixth edition); 'H. von Soden *History of Early Christian Literature: the Writings of the N.T.*' [E.T.]. G. H. Gilbert: 'Nägeli *Der Wortschatz des Apostels Paulus*.' 'Volter Paulus u. seine Briefe'; 'Knowing Testimony of St. Paul to Christ.' W. H. Ryder: 'A. Anderson *Das Abendmahl in den zwei ersten Jahrhund. n. Chr.*'; 'Rendtorff *Die Taufe im Urchristentum*.' W. R. Schoemaker: 'Nösken, *Der Heilige geist: sein Wesen u. die Art seines Wirkens*.' E. J. Goodspeed: 'The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers'; 'Preuschen *Antilegomena*'; 'Riedel-Ewen *Canons of Athanasius of Alexandria*'; 'Fotheringham *Bodleian MS. of Jerome's Version of Eusebius' Chronicle*.' W. Muss-Arnolt: 'Stählin *Clemens Alexandrinus. I. Protrepticus u. Paedagogus*.' Very favourable. H. V. Burch: 'Von der Goltz *Athanasius de Virginitate*' (T. u. U. N.F. xiv. 2). Lengthy. J. W. Thompson: 'Giry-Poupardin *Monuments de l'Histoire des Abbayes de Saint-Philbert (Noirmoutier, Grandlieu, Tournus)*.' A. J. Ramaker: 'Vedder *Balthasar Hübmaier*.' G. Cross: 'G. B. Stevens *Christian Doctrine of Salvation*.' Lengthy. G. B. Foster: 'A Deissmann *Beiträge zur Weiterentwicklung der christlichen Religion*'; 'Denney *Questions of Faith*'; 'Loisy *The Gospel and the Church*'; 'E. Caird *Evolution of Theology in the Greek Philosophers*.' H. A. Youtz: 'Peabody *Jesus Christ and the Christian Character*'; 'E. Fuchs *Gut und Böse*'; 'W. Schmidt *Der Kampf um die sittliche Welt*'; 'Herrmann *Faith and Morals*'; G. B. Smith: 'Goguel W. Herrmann et le problème religieux actuel.' 'Perhaps the most influential theologian of Germany to-day.'

The Princeton Theological Review (Vol. IV. No. 4. October 1906. Philadelphia: MacCalla and Co.). H. M. Scott: 'Has Scientific Investigation disturbed the Basis of Rational Faith?' F. W. Loetscher: 'Schwenckfeld's Participation in the Eucharistic Controversy of Saec. XVI., II.' H. E. Dosker: 'Theodore Beza.' D. G. Whitley: 'What was the Primitive Condition of Man?' Reviews. J. Orr: 'G. T. Ladd *Philosophy of Religion*.' Lengthy. H. C. Minton: 'Santayana *The Life of Reason*.' W. H. Johnson: 'W. Patrick *James the Lord's Brother*.' B. B. Warfield: 'Harnack *Expansion of Christianity* [E.T.]'; 'Stevens *Christian Doctrine of Salvation*' (very critical); 'Orr *God's Image in Man*.' C. W. Hodge: 'O. A. Curtis *The Christian Faith Personally given in a System of Doctrine*.' C. R. Erdmann: 'The Book of Common Worship' [a Presbyterian Service-Book]; 'J. B. Rotherham *The Emphasized Bible*' (unique and invaluable).

The Dublin Review (Vol. CXXXIX. No. 279. October 1906. Burns and Oates). 'For Truth or for Life.' R. H. Benson: 'The Report of the Ritual Commission.' 'Aeneas Sylvius and Nicholas de Cusa: Symbols of

the Renaissance.' M. M. Maxwell Scott : 'Fénelon in Exile, 1699-1715.' C. S. Devas : 'Is Socialism right after all?' 'Guildford Slingsby and John Morris, two servants of Lord Strafford.' J. de C. Macdonnell : 'The Catholic Missions in the Congo Free State.' Mgr. A. S. Barnes : 'Winchester, Mother of Schools.' 'The Church of France and the French People.' Reviews. 'Bodley *The Church in France*.' 'J. Georges *Le Clergé rural sous l'ancien Régime*.' Pre-Revolution. 'J. H. Moulton *Grammar of N.T. Greek*.' 'Denifle *Luther u. Luthertum*.'

The Interpreter (Vol. III. No. 1. October 1906. Simpkin, Marshall). F. R. Tennant : 'Points of Contact between Theology and Science.' W. M. Ramsay : 'Pagan Revivalism and the Persecutions of the Early Church.' F. J. Foakes-Jackson : 'Foreign Influence on Israel's Development, I.' C. H. W. Johns : 'Assyriology and the Old Testament.' G. Tandy : 'The Books of the Chronicles : an Elementary Study in Biblical Criticism.' A. W. P. Blunt : 'The Fulness of Time.' Sermon. Reviews. 'Stevens *Christian Doctrine of Salvation*.' 'D. W. Forrest *The Authority of Christ*.' 'T. M. Lindsay *History of the Reformation*, I.' 'Höffding *Philosophy of Religion*.'

The Jewish Quarterly Review (Vol. XIX. No. 73. October 1906. Macmillan). F. Coblenz : 'Biblical Criticism in Religious Instruction.' A noteworthy article by a Jewish Rabbi. J. Abelson : 'Maimonides on the Jewish Creed.' S. Poznański : 'The Karaite literary Opponents of Saadiah Gaon in Saec. xi., II.' I. Friedländer : 'A Muhammedan Book on Augury in Hebrew Characters.' A. Cowley : 'Bodleian Genizah Fragments, II. III.' L. N. Dembitz : 'Babylon in Jewish Law.' H. Frank : 'Al Shechitah : a Poem by N. Byalik.' H. Hirschfeld : 'The Arabic Portion of the Cairo Genizah at Cambridge, XIV.' D. S. Sassoon : 'An Autograph Letter of a Pseudo-Messiah [Mari Shuker Kohail]. With facsimile. S. A. Cook : 'Notes on O. T. History, VI., The Calebite Tradition.' Reviews. F. Perles : 'Das Jüdische in Cohen's *Ethik [System der Philosophie*. II. *Ethik des reinen Willens*.]' I. A[brahams] : 'Bibliography of Hebraica and Judaica, July-Sept. 1906.'

The Expository Times (Vol. XVIII. Nos. 1-3. October-December 1906. T. and T. Clark). A. Deissmann : 'The New Testament in the Light of recently Discovered Texts of the Graeco-Roman World' (continued November, December). C. S. Macalpine : 'For Mine own Sake' (Is. xlivi. 25). R. Small : 'Problems of the Fourth Gospel' (continued November, December). A. H. Sayce : 'The Name of Yeho, Yahveh' [A. T. Clay *Documents from the Temple Archives of Nippur*]. J. Kellman, jun. : 'The Pilgrim's Progress' (continued; also November). A. Gardner : 'Biblical and Theological Courses for Women (especially at King's College, London).' Reviews. 'Jastrow *The Subconscious*.' 'J. S. Dennis *Christian Missions and Social Progress*.' November. A. H. Sayce : 'A Babylonian Tourist of the Abrahamic Age and his Map of the World' [*Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*, Vol. XXII.]. A. S. Lewis : 'A new Reading of Lk. xxiii. 39.' From Sinai Syr. = 'Art Thou not the Saviour? Save Thyself alive to-day, and also us.' E. W. Maunder : 'The Babylonian Sabbath (see also December).' Reviews. J. A. Selbie : 'Briggs *The Book of Psalms*, I.' [Int. Crit. Comm.] J. Iverach : 'A. Schweitzer *Von Reimarus zu Wrede, Eine Geschichte der*

Leben-Jesu-Forschung. 'H. B. Swete *The Apocalypse of St. John.*' 'Nielsen *History of the Papacy in Saec. XIX.*' 'Beal *Si-Yu-Ki. Buddhist Records of the Western World.*' 'E. G. Browne *Literary History of Persia from Firdawsi to Sa^{di}.*' 'Thureau-Dangin *St. Bernardine of Siena.*' December. C. H. W. Johns : 'Clay Documents from the Temple Archives of Nippur.' 'W. H. R. Rivers *The Todas.*' 'Gasquet *Lord Acton and his Circle.*' 'J. Agar Beet *Manual of Theology.*' 'C. G. Montefiore *Truth in Religion.*' 'W. R. Nicoll *The Lamp of Sacrifice.*' J. Orr : 'W. E. Addis *Hebrew Religion to the Establishment of Judaism under Ezra.*' J. Moffatt : 'Harnack *Lukas der Arzt, Verfasser des dritten Evangeliums und der Apostelgeschichte.*' J. Taylor : 'Kittel *Biblia Hebraica, II.*' J. G. Tasker : 'Hauck *Realencyclopädie, XVII.*' A study of Schleiermacher.

The Review and Expositor (Vol. III. No. 4. October 1906. Louisville, Ky.). D. F. Estes : 'Higher Criticism.' J. Ten Broeke : 'The Theoretical Value of Moral and Religious Experience.' W. T. Whitley : 'The Epistle to the Hebrews, II.' J. Iverach : 'Attempts to Eliminate the Supernatural from the Gospel History, I.' L. L. Henson : 'The Musical Titles of the Psalms.' J. Orr : 'Prevailing Tendencies in Modern Theology.' C. W. Chamberlain : 'The Place of Science in Ministerial Education.' Reviews. G. B. Eager : 'F. J. Bliss *Development of Palestine Exploration*' ; 'Du Bose *The Gospel in the Gospels.*' A. T. Robertson : 'Schmidt *The Prophet of Nazareth*' ; 'W. Richmond *The Gospel of the Rejection*' ; 'Sparrow Simpson *Our Lord's Resurrection*' ; 'D. Walker *The Gift of Tongues*' ; 'W. Lock *The Bible and Christian Life*' ; 'Patrick James *the Lord's Brother.*' D. F. Estes : 'J. H. Jowett *The Epistles of Peter.*' E. C. Dargan : 'Zahn *Bread and Salt from the Word of God.*' W. J. McGlothlin : 'Peake *Reform in Sunday School Teaching.*' 'Pfeiderer *Religion und Religionen*' ; Höffding *Philosophy of Religion.*' E. Y. Mullins : 'P. Monroe *A Text-Book in the History of Education*' ; 'Stevens *The Christian Doctrine of Salvation.*'

The Independent Review (Vol. XI. Nos. 37-39. October-November 1906. Unwin). G. Lowes Dickinson : 'The Motor Tyranny.' A vigorous protest. J. M. Sturge : 'Was West Indian Slavery Harmless?' J. W. Mackail : 'The Genius of William Morris.' F. Hayllar : 'Christianity and the Child.' A. E. Zimmern : 'Oxford in the New Century.' Interesting. Reviews: E. M. Forster : 'Fyvie *Some Literary Eccentrics.*' G. L. Dickinson : 'J. M. Robertson *Short History of Free-Thought.*' A. L. Lilley : 'Fogazzaro *The Saint.*' November. T. M. Kettle : 'Religion and Politics in Ireland.' H. G. Wells : 'Modern Socialism and the Family.' A. R. Wallace : 'The Native Problem in South Africa and elsewhere.' W. K. McClure : 'The Boycott of Consumptives.' A. Thorold : 'The Father of French Rationalism (Fontenelle).' C. Clyde : 'The Demand for Pain: how shall we meet it?' H. A. L. Fisher : 'Figgis and Lawrence *Lord Acton's Lectures on Modern History.*' 'A. C. Benson *From a College Window.*' 'G. K. Chesterton *Charles Dickens.*'

The Edinburgh Review (No. 418. October 1906. Longmans). 'Socialism in the House of Commons.' 'Border Ballads.' 'Christina, Queen of Sweden.' 'The Origin of Landscape.' 'Some Tendencies in Modern Music.' 'Literary Criticism, Esthetic and Psychological.' 'Greek Art and Modern Craftsmanship.' 'The German Stage.' 'Character-

istics of Mr. Swinburne's Poetry.' 'Reforming the Church of England.' 'Irish Wants and Irish Wishes.'

The Quarterly Review (No. 409. October 1906. Murray). 'Recent Antarctic Exploration.' 'The Romantic Element in Music.' A. Symons: 'Henrik Ibsen.' J. E. McTaggart: 'The Ethics of Henry Sidgwick.' 'Municipal Socialism.' 'The Art-work of Lady Dilke.' 'Home Counties': 'The Cheap Cottage.' 'The British Museum (Natural History).' 'The Regulation of Motor-Cars.' 'County Families.' 'The Real Needs of Ireland.' 'The Russian Government and the Massacres.'

The Classical Review (Vol. XX. Nos. 7-9. October-December 1906. Nutt). H. Richards: 'T. Marshall Aristotle's Theory of Conduct.' J. P. Gilson: 'James' Catalogue of MSS. in Christ's and Queens' Colleges.' A. B. Cook: 'Who was the Wife of Zeus?' (continued November). Dia or Dione of Zeus, Hera of Herakles. T. Ashby, jun.: 'Recent Excavations in Rome, II.' November. P. Ure: 'Wilamowitz-Moellendorf *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*. I. 8 *Die griechische und lateinische Literatur und Sprache*.' E. H. Blakeney: 'Conybeare-Stock Selections from the LXX.' T. Ashby, jun.: 'Profumo Le fonti ed i tempi dell' incendio Neroniano.' A book of 750 pages to prove that the Christians did not cause the Fire of Rome. G. Showerman: 'E. G. Hardy Studies in Roman History, 2nd edit.' J. Baker-Penoyer: 'Lechat *La Sculpture attique avant Phidias*.' E. L. Hicks: 'Roberts-Gardner Introduction to Greek Epigraphy, II.' Favourable. J. E. Harrison: J. G. Frazer *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship*. W. H. D. Rouse: 'Decharme *La Critique des Traditions religieuses chez les Grecs*.' December. J. P. Gilson: 'Fotheringham *The Bodleian MS. of Jerome's Version of Eusebius' Chronicle*.' T. Nicklen: 'J. H. Moulton *Grammar of New Testament Greek*'; 'E. A. Abbott *Johannine Grammar*.' R. M. Burrows: 'G. F. Hill *Historical Greek Coins*.'

Hermathena (No. XXXII. 1906. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis and Co.). R. Ellis: 'Historia Augusta, II.' T. K. Abbott: 'On an Early English-Latin-Basque Dictionary.' In the Library of T.C.D. J. G. Smyly: 'The Revenue Years of Philadelphiaus, Euergetes I. and Philopator.' R. Y. Tyrrell: 'Archer-Hind *Translations into Greek Verse and Prose*.' Most eulogistic. J. P. Mahaffy: 'Irishtown, near Dublin.' F. R. M. Hitchcock: 'The Creeds of SS. Irenaeus and Patrick.' Reviews: H. Canning: 'Origin and Influence of the Thoroughbred Horse.' 'A. O. Prickard *Longinus on the Sublime*.' 'Greenidge *History of Rome during the Later Republic and the Early Principate*' and 'W. T. Arnold *Studies of Roman Imperialism*.' 'P. S. Allen *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*.' 'Fowler *The Work of Lucian of Samosata*' [E. T.]. Favourable. 'H. A. J. Munro *Translations into Greek and Latin Verse*.'

The Contemporary Review (Nos. 490-2. October-December 1906. Horace Marshall). W. B. Yeats: 'Literature and the Living Voice.' W. S. Palmer: 'The Resurrection of the Body.' S. Olivier: 'Long Views and Short on Black and White.' The Native Problem. G. G. Coulton 'Religious Education before the Reformation.' J. E. Barker: 'Education and Mis-education in Germany.' E. Givskov: 'Home Industry and Peasant-farming in Belgium, II.' M. Gregory: 'Polygamy and Christianity.' Reviews. 'Edghill *The Evidential Value of Prophecy*.' 'Cambridge

Modern History, IX. Napoleon. 'W. Austen Leigh *Augustus Austen Leigh, Provost of King's.*' 'H. F. Hall *A People at School.*' 'Talfourd Ely *Excavations on Hayling Island.*' 'F. G. French *Companion to Thomas à Kempis.*' November. Sir C. Ilbert: 'The Reform of Parliamentary Procedure.' E. Dowden: 'Henrik Ibsen.' E. Münsterberg: 'Poor Relief in Berlin.' L. Jerrold: 'M. Clemenceau.' P. Sabatier: 'The Religious Movement in France.' H. H. Henson: 'Letters of Business.' 'For the resurrection of the Low Church Party, as for the decay of Sacerdotalism, we want time, not "Letters of Business"!' Reviews, 'Lord Acton Lectures on Modern History.' 'Gasquet *Lord Acton and his Circle.*' 'Nielsen *History of the Papacy in Saec. XIX.*' 'I. Abrahams *Short History of Jewish Literature.*' 'A. L. Lilley *Sir Joshua Fitch.*' 'Oxford Treasury of Sacred Song.' December. Sir W. M. Ramsay: 'The Peasant God: the Destruction and the Restoration of Agriculture in Asia Minor.' M. Jastrow, jun.: 'A Babylonian Job.' Tabi-utul-Bel, King of Nippur. S. Coleridge: 'The Royal Commission on Experiments on Live Animals.' Sir O. Lodge: 'Work and Life.' M. G. Fawcett: 'The Prisoners of Hope in Holloway Gaol.' Suffragettes. P. T. Forsyth: 'Church, State, Dogma and Education.' E. Sellers: 'Poor Relief in Vienna.' J. Seth: 'The Norwegian System of Liquor Control.' Reviews. 'G. Tyrrell *A much abused Letter.*' 'Forrest *The Authority of Christ.*' 'F. H. Woods *For Faith and Science.*' 'C. M. E. *The Many-sided Universe.*' 'Lindsay *History of the Reformation, I.*' 'P. S. Allen *Epiſtolae Des. Erasmi.*' 'Brodrick-Fotheringham *Political History of England, XI., 1801-1837.*'

The Catholic World (Vol. LXXXIV. Nos. 499-501. October-December 1906. New York). M. Turmann: 'The Religious Situation in France, III. (IV., November). H. A. Hinkson: 'Dublin University in her Relation to Ireland.' Reviews. 'Thureau-Dangin *La Renaissance Catholique en Angleterre au XIX^e Siecle, III.*' 'Goldwin Smith *In Quest of Light.*' 'A. Germain *Comment relever l'Art Chrétien.*' November. F. A. Gasquet: 'The Christian Family Life in Pre-Reformation Days.' A. Lloyd: 'Leaves from the Scrapbook of a Japanese Poet.' Mme. Saisho Atsuko. N. H. Ewing: 'Shakespeare's Enigma and Cypher.' D. C. B.: 'Education in Jamaica and the Catechism Question.' W. L. Sullivan: 'C. Pesch, S.J. *De Inspiratione Sacrae Scripturae*' (continued December). J. J. Fox: 'The Pope and the French Separation Law.' L. E. Lapham: 'Fogazzaro and his Trilogy' (continued December). Reviews. 'Westminster Lectures.' 'Sir S. Hall *Short History of the Oxford Movement.*' 'C. Edmonds *The Early Scottish Church.*' 'J. F. Schofield *Divine Authority.*' December. W. F. Dennehy: 'The Irish Situation.' E. L. Taunton: 'A Great Leader (Lord Acton).' H. Thurston, S.J.: 'The late Lord Acton.' Reviews. 'R. H. Benson *The Religion of the Plain Man*' and 'Richard Raynal.' 'Gasquet *Lord Acton and his Circle.*' 'E. Taunton *The Law of the Church.*'

The Monthly Review (Nos. 73-5. October-December 1906. Murray). W. H. Mallock: 'The Intellectual Condition of the Labour Party, I.' (II. November). H. Arctowski: 'Polar Problems and the International Organisation for their Solution.' M. Caird: 'A Ridiculous God, I.' (II. November). R. B. Lattimer: 'Some Reflections upon English and Ger-

man Education.' S. L. Bastin : 'The Possibility of Intelligence in the Plant.' J. Ross : 'Legends of the Abruzzi.' Reviews. 'G. G. Coulton From St. Francis to Dante.' November. H. W. Strong : 'Before Socialism.' W. H. Mallock : 'The Intellectual Condition of the Labour Party' (continued December). G. S. Street : 'Ghosts of Piccadilly: Clarendon House and Devonshire House' (December: 'Old Q.'). A. E. Keeton : 'The Beauty and Uses of our National Art Songs.' December. F. Carrel : 'Moral Education.' 'Board School Teacher': 'Esprit de Corps in Elementary Schools.' J. D. E. Loveland : 'The Strange Obsequies of Paganini.' Mgr. Vay de Vaya and Luskod : 'To America in an Emigrant Ship.' M. B. Porter : 'Pope's Tower.'

The English Historical Review (Vol. XXI. No. 84. October 1906. Longmans). F. M. Powicke : 'The Angevin Administration of Normandy.' M. Wilkinson : 'The Wars of Religion in the Périgord.' E. I. Carlyle : 'Committees of Council under the Earlier Stuarts.' C. Brinkmann : 'Charles II. and the Bishop of Münster in the Anglo-Dutch War of 1665-6.' A. Ballard : 'The Burgesses of Domesday.' M. Bateson : 'The Burgesses of Domesday and the Malmesbury Wall.' J. A. J. Housden : 'The Merchant Strangers' Post in the Sixteenth Century.' C. H. Firth : 'Cromwell's Instructions to Col. Lockhart in 1656.' Reviews. W. Warde-Fowler : 'Salvioli Études sur l'Économie Romaine.' G. T. Lapsley : 'Hodgkin Political History of England, I.' A. Gardner : 'Whittaker Apollonius of Tyana.' E. W. Watson : 'Dudden Gregory the Great.' F. G. M. Beck : 'Vinogradoff The Growth of the Manor.' R. Dunlop : 'M. J. Bonn Der Englische Kolonisation in Irland.' T. F. Tout : 'Gasquet Henry III. and his Church.' E. Maunde Thompson : 'Baillie-Grohman The Master of Game: the oldest English Book on Hunting.' E. Armstrong : 'A. Schulte Kaiser Maximilian I. als Kandidat für den päpstlichen Stuhl, 1511.' R. S. Rait : 'W. L. Mathieson Scotland and the Union (1695-1747).' H. B. George : 'Cambridge Modern History. IX. Napoleon.' J. T[ait]: 'Bateson Records of the Borough of Leicester, III.' 'W. A. Shaw Knights of England.' Very favourable.

The Economic Review (Vol. XVI. No. 4. October 1906. Rivingtons). W. Sanday : 'The Social Teaching of the Bible.' A. Hook : 'Rating and Site Valuation.' W. M. J. Williams : 'The Control of Public Expenditure.' Reviews. J. Carter : 'A. Shadwell Industrial Efficiency.' 'Most valuable.' J. St. G. Heath : 'Veblen The Theory of Business Enterprise.' E. A. S. Littlewood : 'B. K. Gray History of English Philanthropy.' H. W. Wolff : 'Salvioli Études sur l'Économie Romaine.' 'J. Clayton Bishop Westcott.' 'Spargo The Bitter Cry of the Children.'

Revue Biblique Internationale (N.S. Vol. III. No. 4. October 1906. Paris : Lecoffre). I. Guidi : 'L'historiographie chez les Sémites.' Mgr. P. Batifol : 'L'Apostolat.' M. J. Lagrange : 'Pascal et les prophéties messianiques'; 'L'avènement du Fils de l'Homme, II.' A. Janssen : 'Oumm el-Gheith'; 'Notes sur l'Itinéraire de Nakhel à Pétra, II.'; 'Liste de noms relevés au Nedjeb.' V. Molloy and others : 'Lieux de Culte à Pétra.' Illustrated. M. Abel : 'La grotte du Moueileh.' Reviews. M. Abel : 'Cambridge Theological Essays.' T. C. : 'Ferries Growth of Christian Faith.' M. J. Lagrange : 'Gautier Introduction à l'Ancien Testament'; 'F. Martin Le livre d'Hénoch.' A. Baumstark :

'Hennecke *Handbuch zu den neutestamentlichen Apocryphen.*' H. Vincent : 'Barnabé *La Ville de David.*' Crushing review. 'Harnack *Lukas der Arzt.*' 'Souter *Study of Ambrosiaster.*' 'C. H. H. Wright *Daniel and his Prophecies.*' 'R. Butin *The ten Nequoth of the Thora.*' 'J. H. Moulton *Grammar of N.T. Greek.*' 'Mingana *Clef de la langue araméenne.*' 'Bliss *The Development of Palestine Exploration.*'

Revue Bénédicteine (Vol. XXIII. No. 4. October 1906. Maredsous). H. Quentin : 'I. Le concile de Cologne de 346 et les adhésions gauloises aux lettres synodales de Sardique.' II. 'Prétendues souscriptions du deuxième concile de Tolède.' F. Cabrol : 'Autour de la liturgie de Ravenne. St. Pierre Chrysologue et le *Rotulus.*' U. Berlière : 'Frédéric de Laroche, évêque d'Acre et archevêque de Tyr. Envoi de reliques à l'abbaye de Florennes (1153-1164).' R. Ancel : 'D'un recueil de documents appartenant à l'héritage du card. Agostino Trivulzio.' M. Festugière : 'Quelle sera la philosophie de l'Eglise? La Philosophie traditionnelle' (suite). P. de Meester : 'Études sur la théologie orthodoxe. II. Le dogme de la Sainte-Trinité.' Recensions. B. Lebbe : 'Martin *Le livre d'Hénoch*' ; 'Weigl *Die Heilslehre des hl. Cyrill von Alexandrien*' ; 'Turmel *Histoire de la Théologie positive*, II.' I. Ryelandt : 'Maréchal F. de la Mennais. *Essai d'un système de philosophie catholique*' (ouvrage inédit). U. Berlière : 'P. F. Kehr *Regesta Romanorum Pontificum*, I.' ; 'E. d'Alençon T. de Celano : *Francisci Assisensis Vita*' ; 'U. Chevalier *Notre-Dame de Lorette. Étude historique sur l'authenticité de la Santa Casa*' ; 'Denifle *Luther und Luthertum.*'

Revue d'Histoire Ecclesiastique (Vol. VII. No. 4. October 1906. Louvain). P. Fournier : 'Etude sur les Fausses Décrétales. IV. La patrie des F. D. (b) La province de Tours.' D. M. Girard : 'Anania Mogatzi *Épisode de la lutte religieuse en Arménie* (943-65).' R. Maere : 'Les origines de la nonciature de Flandre. Étude sur la diplomatie pontificale dans les Pays-Bas à la fin du XVI^e siècle.' II. Recensions. J. van Cauwenbergh : 'Barth *Die Hauptprobleme des Lebens Jesu.*' C. Callewaert : 'Augar *Die Frau im Römischen Christenprozess*' ; 'Harnack *Der Vorwurf des Atheismus in den drei ersten Jahrhunderten.*' A. Monin : 'Galante *Fontes iuris canonici selecti.*' R. Maere : 'Strzygowski *Kleinasiens ein Neuland der Kunstgeschichte. Kirchenaufnahmen.*' M. Vaes : 'Dudden *Gregory the Great.*' A. Fierens : 'Lempp *Frière Élie de Cortone*' ; 'P. Sabatier *Actus Beati Francisci.*' A. M. Libert : 'Mortier *Histoire des maîtres-généraux de l'Ordre des Frères Prêcheurs.*' A. Kempenee : 'Finke *Bonifaz VIII.*' ; 'Graziani *Boniface VIII.*' ; 'Wenck *Was Bonifaz VIII. ein Ketzer?*' G. Mollat : 'Pérouse *Le Cardinal L. Aleman, président du concile de Bâle, et la fin du Grand Schisme.*' L. Noel : 'Denifle *Luther und Luthertum.*' A. Logge : 'Cambridge Modern History II., *The Reformation.*' E. Palandri : 'De la Ferrière *Lettres de Catherine de Médicis* (1533-88), I.-IX.' L. Gougaud : 'Duine *Briviaux et missels des églises et abbayes bretonnes de France antérieurs au XVIII^e siècle.*' P. C. Isturiz : 'Beccari *Rerum Æthiopicarum scriptores occidentales inediti.*' J. Flamion : 'Glawe *Die Religion F. Schlegels.*' E. Ollivier *l'Empire libéral, X.*'

Revue de l'Orient Chrétien (II^e Série. Vol. I. Nos. 2-3. 1906. Paris : Picard). E. Blochet : 'Les monnaies mongoles de la collection

Decourdemanche' (*fin*). B. Evertt : 'Le rite copte de la prise d'habit et de la profession monacale' (*fin*). L. Leroy : 'Les synagogues des juifs (Moïse et Élie d'après les traditions arabes). Texte arabe de Makrizi et traduction française.' F. Tournebize : 'Les CXVII. accusations présentées à Benoît XII. contre les Arméniens' (*continued No. 3*). Mgr. A. Scher : 'Analyse de l'histoire du couvent de Sabriso de Beith Qoqa.' F. Nau : 'Notes sur les mots "Politikos" et "Politeuomenos" et sur plusieurs textes grecs relatifs à St. Etienne.' Recensions. M. A. Kugener : 'Burkitt *Early Eastern Christianity*.' No. 3. J. Bousquet : 'Vie d'Olympias la diaconesse.' M. Asin y Palacios : 'Description d'un MS. arabe-Chrétien de la bibliothèque de M. Codéra (le poète Isa el-Hagâr).' L. Delaporte : I. 'Le Pasteur d'Herma. Nouveaux fragments sahidiques.' II. 'Note sur deux MSS. de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris qui renferment le rite copte de la prise d'habit.' MSS. copt.-arab. 71 and 98. F. Nau : I. 'Note sur un MS. syriaque (commentaire des Psaumes d'après Théodore de Mopsueste) appartenant à M. Delaporte.' II. 'Note sur les MSS. de Paris qui renferment la notice biographique d'Antiochus, moine de S. Sabâ.' MSS. grecs 881, 1078, 885, 1082, Coislin 238, Suppl. grecs 769. Mutilated MSS. grecs 1079, 883, 884, 1080, 1083, 1203, Coislin 256. A. Gastoué : 'Curieuses annotations de quelques MSS. byzantins.' Recensions. F. Nau : 'Martin *Le livre d'Hénoch*'; 'Cartellieri Philipp II. August, König von Frankreich.' J. Bousquet : 'Maas *Die Chronologie der Hymnen des Romanos*.' P. de Meester : 'Leclercq *Les Martyrs*'.

Analecta Bollandiana (Vol. XXV. No. 4. October 1906. Brussels). A. d'Alès : 'Les deux Vies de Ste. Mélanie la jeune.' H. Delehaye : 'Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum graecorum bibliothecae comitis de Leicester Holkhamiae in Anglia'; and 'Notes sur un MS. grec du Musée britannique' (MS. Brit. Mus. Add. 36589). C. de Smedt : 'La Santa Casa de Lorette.' A. Poncelet : 'Catalogus codd. hagiograph. lat. bibliothec. Roman. praeterquam Vat. IV. Codd. bibliothec. Alexandrinae' (*continued*). Reviews. H. D[elehaye] : 'Calvi *Bibliografia generale di Roma*, I., 476-1499.' A. P[oncelet] : 'Van den Ghewy *Catalogue des MSS. de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, V.'; 'J. Pekar *Die Wenzels- und Ludmila-Legenden u. die Echtheit Christians*.' P. P[feeters] : 'H. Lammens *Le Liban, notes archéologiques, historiques, ethnographiques et géographiques*'; 'Beccari P. Petri Paez S. I. *Historia Aethiopiae libri III et IV*' [F.] V[an] O[rtroy] : 'J. Hilgers *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher*'; 'Schnürer Franz von Assist'; 'E. Jacob *Johannes von Capistrano*, II.'; 'Papalardo S. Carlo Borromeo'; 'G. E. Phillips *The Extinction of the Ancient Hierarchy*'.

Revue des Questions Historiques (Vol. XLI. No. 160. October 1906. Paris). E. Revillout : 'Amasis et la chute de l'empire Egyptien' (*fin*). H. Baraude : 'Le siège d'Orléans et Jeanne d'Arc, 1428-9' (*suite*). J. J. C. Tazun : 'Le Mariage de Marguerite de Valois.' A. du Bourg : 'Le chanoine du Bourg et la Francmaçonnerie.' L. le Monnier : 'Les sources de l'histoire de S. François d'Assise.' Recensions. E. M. Rivière : 'E. de Uriarte *Catálogo razonado de Obras anónimas y seudónimas de Autores de la Compañía de Jesús pertenecientes a la antigua Asistencia Espanola*' (1540-1773). D. E. Bouvet : 'P. Kershaw *Studies in Ancient Persian History*' (un mauvais petit livre). P. Allard : 'Labourt *Le*

Christianisme dans l'Empire perse (224-632) ; 'Grisar *Histoire de Rome et des Papes au moyen âge*, I.' A. Wilmart : 'Loofs Nestoriana.' Lengthy notice. E. Vacandard : 'E. Martin S. Colombar (540-615)'; 'Du Bourg S. Odon (879-942).' R. Louis : 'Cochin *Fra Giovanni Angelico de Fiesole (1387-1433)*.' J. Guiraud : 'Schnüren *Die ursprüngliche Templerregel*.' J. Viard : 'Debout *Jeanne d'Arc*'; 'Ducaunnes-Duval *Inventaire sommaire des registres de la Juade, 1320-1783*.' L. G. Pélissier : 'Picotti, I. *Caminesi e la loro signoria in Treviso, 1283-1312*' ; 'Soranzo *La guerra fra Venezia e la S. Sede per il dominio di Ferrara, 1308-13*.' P. Richard : 'Fraikin *Archives de l'histoire religieuse de la France. Nonciatures de France*, I., 1525-7.' G. Périès : 'Serbat *Les assemblées du clergé de France, 1561-1615*.' A. Lescot : 'Cauchie-Maere *Recueil des instructions générales aux nonces de Flandre, 1596-1635*.' H. Cochin : 'Thureau-Dangin *La Renaissance Catholique en Angleterre au XIX^e siècle*, III.' 'Pellicer-de Mandrot *Lettres de Charles VIII, roi de France*, V. 1496-8.' 'De Marolles *Le Cardinal Manning*.'

Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses (Vol. XI. Nos. 4-5. July-October 1906. Paris : Picard). J. P. Quental : 'Andocide et les mystères d'Éleusis : La culpabilité d'Andocide ; Nature des mystères éleusiniens ; Personnel des mystères ; Rapports du clergé avec l'Etat ; Le mythe.' A. Diès : 'L'Evolution de la théologie dans les philosophes grecs, III. D'Empédocle à Socrate.' A. Dupin : 'La Trinité et la théologie des hypostases dans les trois premiers siècles.' Recensions. P. Lejay : 'C. H. Turner *Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Juris Antiquissima*, I. 2' ; 'Frere Religious Ceremonial' ; 'Holzhey *Die Thekla-Akten*' ; 'Puller *Anointing of the Sick in Scripture and Tradition*' ; 'Villien *L'Abbé Eusèbe Renaudot*' (favourable). 'A. von Maltzew *Othochos oder Parakletike der orthodox-katholischen Kirche des Morgenlandes*, II.' ; 'Conybeare-Maclean *Rituale Armenorum*' ; 'P. Kehr *Regesta pontificum Romanorum*' ; 'Baumstark *Liturgia romana e liturgia dell'esarcato*' ; 'Magistretti *Manuale Ambrosianum*, II., III.' ; 'Turton *The Vedast Missal*' No. 5. J. Zeiller : 'Une légende hagiographique de Dalmatie—S. Domnus de Salone : III. La Légende de S. Domnus ; IV. Les Rapports de l'histoire et de la légende.' P. de Labriolle : 'L'Argument de prescription, I.' Tert. *De Praescriptione*. L. de la V. Poussin : 'Introduction à la pratique des futurs Bouddhas, par Canticdeva ; traduit du sanskrit et annoté.' P. Lejay : 'J. Wickham-Legg, *The Clerk's Book of 1549* and *'Tracts on the Mass'* [H.B.S.]; 'F. van Otrroy *Les vies grecques de S. Ambroise et leur source*' ; 'de Broglie *Vie de S. Ambroise*.' H. Hemmer : 'Lauer *Les Annales de Flooard*' ; 'E. d'Alençon S. Francisci Assisensis Vita et Miracula' ; 'Bourrilly-Vaissière *Ambassade en Angleterre de Jean du Bellay, 1527-9*' ; 'Fraikin *Nonciatures de France*, I. 1525-7' ; 'Hergenrother-Kirsch *Handbuch der allgemeinen Kirchengeschichte*, II.' (1,100 pages) ; 'Vacandard *Etudes de critique et d'histoire religieuse*' ; 'Lesne *La hiérarchie épiscopale en Gaule et en Germanie, 742-882*' ; 'Mathieu *Les Origines des cultes révolutionnaires, 1789-92*'.

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Rivista storico-critica delle Scienze Teologiche (Vol. II. Nos. 7-8. July-August 1906. Roma). G. Bonaccorsi: 'I Vangeli.' V. Ermoni: 'La Fede nel Nuovo Testamento.' U. Fracassini: 'L'azione dello Spirito Santo nel Cristianesimo primitivo.' G. Garavani: 'La questione storica dei Fioretti di S. Francesco e il loro posto nella storia dell' Ordine.' G. Michelini: 'Presbitero nell' antica Chiesa.' P. de Meester: 'Bollettino di Liturgia.' L. Martiri: 'H. Bremond Newman.' 'Barry *The Tradition of Scripture*.' 'Rampolla S. Melania giuniores.'

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The East and the West (Vol. IV. No. 16. October 1906. S.P.G.). A. E. Moule: 'Church and State in China.' F. R. Graves (Bishop of Shanghai): 'Chinese Christianity and the Chinese National Character.' W. E. Griffis: 'Baron Kanéko's Verdict on Occidental Christianity.' H. Pakenham-Walsh: 'The Attitude of the Educated Hindu Mind towards Christianity.' E. Rogers: 'The Junior Clergy Missionary Associations. A Plea for Development.' J. A. Sharrock: 'Paganism, Hinduism and Christianity in India.' G. Callaway: 'Sidelights upon Missionary Work in Kaffraria.' C. T. Wilson: 'The Present Conditions and Prospects of Missions to Moslems in Palestine.' S. Ballard: 'The Use of Sacred Pictures.' T. R. Underwood: 'Work among Lascars in London.' G. A. Grierson: 'Do the Hindus believe in a Personal God?' (Yes.) Reviews. 'There is a River (B.F.B.S.).' 'J. S. Dennis *Christian Missions and Social Progress*.'

BOOKS RECEIVED.

The more important will be reviewed in Short Notices or Articles as space permits.

BIBLICAL AND KINDRED STUDIES.

ADAMS, J.—*Sermons in Accents or Studies in the Hebrew Text*. A Book for Preachers and Students. Pp. viii + 200. (T. & T. Clark.) 4s. 6d. net.

BALLINGER, J.—*The Bible in Wales. A Study in the History of the Welsh People with an Introductory Address and a Bibliography*. Pp. 104. (H. Sotheran and Son.) Published by subscription.

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CHARLES, R. H.—*The Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch*. Edited from twenty-three MSS. together with the fragmentary Greek and Latin Versions. 'Anecdota Oxoniensia,' Semitic Series, Part XI. Pp. xxxiv + 240. (Clarendon Press.) 17s. 6d.

CHAUVIN, C.—*Les Idées de M. Loisy sur le Quatrième Évangile*. Pp. 292. (Paris : Beauchesne.) 3 fr. 50.

DAUBNEY, W. H.—*The Three Additions to Daniel : a Study*. Pp. xvi + 258. (Cambridge : Deighton, Bell.) 5s. net.

DAY, E. H.—*On the Evidence for the Resurrection with Reference especially to the Emmaus Narrative of St. Luke's Gospel and to Recent Criticism*. Pp. 64. (S.P.C.K.) 6d.

DRIVER, S. R.—*The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah*. A Revised Translation with Introduction and Short Explanations. Pp. lvi + 382. (Hodder and Stoughton.) 6s.

HASTINGS, J. (edited by).—*A Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*. Vol. I. *Aaron-Knowledge*. Pp. xii + 936. (T. & T. Clark.) 21s. net.

HEMPHILL, S.—*A History of the Revised Version of the New Testament*. Pp. 144. (Elliot Stock.) A plea for a 're-revision' of the Revised New Testament on the same lines as the Revised Old Testament.

JACKSON, H. L.—*The Fourth Gospel and some recent German Criticism*. Pp. xiv + 248. (Cambridge University Press.) 3s. 6d. net.

KNIGHT, H. T.—*Criticism and the Old Testament : a Popular Introduction*. Pp. xvi + 170. (Elliot Stock.) 3s. 6d. net.

NEWBOLT, W. C. E.—*Handbook to the Gospel according to St. John for the use of Teachers and Students*. Pp. xvi + 184. (Rivingtons.) 2s. 6d. net.

OTTLEY, R. L.—*The Book of Isaiah according to the Septuagint (Codex Alexandrinus)*. II. Text and Notes. Pp. xxxiv + 418. (Cambridge University Press.) 6s. net.

P., M. E.—*Christ's Arraignment before the Church of His Nation*. Pp. 32. (S.P.C.K.) 3d.

POWELL, F. E.—*The Unified Gospel (A Written Tetramorph)*. Consisting of every word of the Four Gospels woven into one consecutive and Harmonious Narrative from the Text of the Revised Version with descriptive analyses. Pp. 366. (London : H. J. Drane.) 3s. 6d.

PUMFREY, W.—*Israel in the Bible and in History*. Pp. 70. (London: R. Banks.) 8d. net. 559 verses from the Bible with introductory remarks.

PUSEY, E. B. (the late).—*The Minor Prophets with a Commentary Explanatory and Practical, and Introductions to the Several Books*. Vol. I. Hosea. Vol. II. Amos. Vol. III. Joel and Obadiah. Pp. 382, 352, 364. (Nisbet.) 2s. 6d. each net. An interesting reprint in a very convenient form.

RAMSAY, W. M.—*Pauline and other Studies in Early Church History*. Pp. xii + 416. (Hodder and Stoughton.) 12s.

SAYCE, A. H.—*The Archaeology of the Cuneiform Inscriptions*. Pp. 220. (S.P.C.K.) 5s.

SAYCE, A. H., and COWLEY, A. E. (edited by).—*Aramaic Papyri discovered at Assuan*. With Appendices by W. SPIEGELBERG and S. DE RICCI. Pp. 82 + 27. Plates. (A. Moring.) 21s. net. See Article.

SCOTT, E. F.—*The Fourth Gospel: its Purpose and Theology*. Pp. x + 380. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.) 6s. net.

WAY, A. S.—*The Letters of St. Paul to Seven Churches and Three Friends, with the Letter to the Hebrews*. Second Edition. Revised. Pp. xviii + 258. (Macmillan.) 5s. net.

PHILOSOPHY.

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NAU, F.—*Histoires d'Ahouudemeh et de Marouta, métropolitains jacobites de Tagrit et de l'Orient (VI^e et VII^e Siècles) suivies du Traité d'Ahouudemeh sur l'Homme*. Textes syriaques inédits, publiés, traduits et annotés. 'Patrologia Orientalis,' III, 1. Pp. 120. (Paris: Firmin-Didot.) 7 fr. 15.

PFEIDERER, O.—*Primitive Christianity: its Writings and Teachings in their Historical Connections*. Translated by W. MONTGOMERY. 'Theological Translation Library.' Pp. xii + 472. (Williams & Norgate.) 10s. 6d. net.

TURNER, C. H.—*The History and Use of Creeds and Anathemas in the Early Centuries of the Church*. 'Church Historical Society Tract lxxxv.' Pp. 122. (S.P.C.K.) 2s.

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